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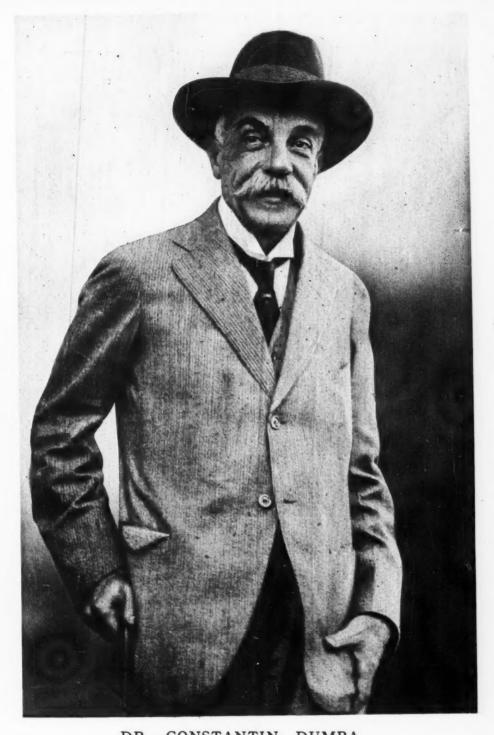
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DR. CONSTANTIN DUMBA

Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Washington, Whose Recall Was Requested for Interference with the Making of American War Munitions

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Arm & K Jehrenz

A RECENT SKETCH OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR By Robert F. K. Scholtz

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The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

OCTOBER, 1915

ARABIC AND HESPERIAN

Official Interchanges With Berlin

Two Cases of Vessels Sunk in the Submarine Zone Since the Lusitania Note of July 21

In the American note to Germany, sent by President Wilson on July 21, 1915, this concluding passage appeared:

HE very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and Government of the German Nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

The White Star liner Arabic, outward bound for New York, was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine off Fastnet on the morning of Aug. 19, 1915. Eighteen passengers and twenty-one members of the crew were reported missing by the White Star Line on Aug. 22, and the first messages received by the State Department at Washington from Ambassador Page in London reported the loss of Mrs. Josephine Bruguiere and Dr. Edmund Woods, American citizens. Secretary Lansing instructed Ambassador Gerard at Berlin, as announced on Aug. 23, to ask the German Imperial Foreign Office whether a report of the sinking of the Arabic had been received by the German Government, and a statement issued from the White House on the same day after a conference between Secretary Joseph Tumulty and President Wilson, read as

With reference to the sinking of the Arabic, as soon as all of the facts are ascertained, our course of action will be determined.

The British Admiralty made this announcements on Aug. 23:

The Arabic was an unarmed passenger ship, outward bound to a neutral port. It

was thus impossible for her to have been carrying contraband to this country. She was sunk by a German submarine without warning, and she neither attempted to attack the submarine nor to escape from it.

The following report was sent by The Associated Press on Aug. 25 from its London office:

The American Embassy has transmitted by cable to Washington the gist of seven depositions taken by Consul Washington at Liverpool, six of which were from Americans on board the Arabic and the seventh from Captain Finch of that steamer.

All the deponents state under oath that the Arabic was pursuing a peaceful course and that she was not warned. All of them assert that they saw the torpedo or heard shouts that a torpedo was coming; also that the Arabic made no attempt to escape or to ram the submarine.

Captain Finch in his affidavit emphasized the last point, saying that, in the first place, it would have been suicidal, and, in the second place, as he did not see the submarine he could not have attempted to ram her.

The depositions in full will be mailed today.

The managers of the White Star Line at Liverpool gave out to the newspapers vesterday the following statement:

At the time of the Lusitania torpedoing many misleading and untrue statements appeared regarding the vessel. Similar statements are beginning to be hinted at in connection with the Arabic, which are equally untrue. For this reason we thought you would like to have one or two definite facts that had better be published at once in order to prevent people from hazarding opinions and finding excuses for the torpedoing.

The facts are:

There is no doubt the Arabic was struck with a torpedo. Captain Finch did not see the submarine, but undoubtedly saw the torpedo.

There is no question of the Arabic having tried to ram the submarine, because it was not seen from the bridge.

There is no question of the Arabic having tried to escape, except the very proper precaution of having put the helm hard over when they saw the torpedo.

The Arabic was undoubtedly sunk without warning. She was in peaceful trading, with various nationalities aboard. She was outward bound, so there is no question of munitions, and she was not disguised in any way nor had she any guns mounted.

The statement has appeared in the press that she was off the south coast of Ireland, which leads some people to think she was near the coast. As a matter of fact, she was over sixty miles south of Ireland.

With respect to precautions taken, these were very thorough and very proper, having regard to all that has taken place in the danger zone. The Captain had life jackets on hand for everybody. Rafts were unlashed and deck lifeboats opened up, and both rafts and deck lifeboats played an important part in lifesaving, as well as the regular lifeboats.

One of the affidavits made to Ambassador Page by James Colman, an American citizen aboard the Arabic, was cabled by The Associated Press on Aug. 21, as follows:

The first any one knew of the torpedo was while some were looking at the steamer Dunsley foundering a little distance away. Suddenly the cry went up that a torpedo was coming toward us. Captain Finch was zigzagging his vessel, for evidently he had already spotted the submarine, and was trying to avoid it. Before any one of us fully realized it. crash came tne torpedo into the ship, almost knocking the ship over, it seemed. The Germans did not fire any shot across the bow of the Arabic to stop her, and did not make any effort to ascertain if there were Americans aboard. It was simply a cold-blooded attack with utter disregard of the consequences.

Every American on the ship to whom I have since talked agrees that the Germans apparently were determined to kill every one.

Several survivors of the disaster reported spying the wake of the torpedo, but testified that they failed to observe the submarine. A Queenstown dispatch to The London Daily Chronicle dated Aug. 20, 1915, said:

C. S. Pringle of Toronto, a cabin passenger on the Arabic, said today in describing the disaster:

"After breakfast most of the passengers went up on deck to enjoy the fresh air. The sea was calm and the atmosphere was quite clear, in fact, it was a perfect Summer morning. With my telescope I noticed what appeared to be the track of a torpedo coming at right

angles toward the Arabic. I saw no submarine then or later on.

"The torpedo traveled at enormous speed and struck our steamer on the starboard side. The impact made her shake frightfully and then there was a sudden explosion. The passengers were by this time rushing for the lifeboats. Captain Finch was on the deck giving orders and the boats were being got down over the side of the vessel. Suddenly the ship began to sink, and in eight or ten minutes she went down. There was no panic, but naturally there was a good deal of excitement among the women and children. They were the first to be put into the lifeboats.

"Considering that no warning was given by the submarine it was astonishing that a much larger proportion of those on board were not lost."

Joseph G. De Lorimer, K. C., of Montreal, said he was saved after he had been struggling in the water, holding on to a raft for considerable time. He had gone on deck to sit down, he said, and a friend was standing by his side when he exclaimed, "We are gone." They both then saw a white line in the water which proved to be a torpedo. Mr. De Lorimer rushed to his cabin for a lifebelt and brought it on deck. He was in the last boat that left the ship as she took the final plunge. Previous to this the liner listed tremendously and turned turtle. One or two lifeboats were struck by the staboard quarter of the Arabic and all the lifeboats were caught in the whirlpool as she sank.

A Queenstown dispatch to The London Daily News dated Aug. 20, 1915, bore this testimony by Captain Finch of the sunken liner:

I left Liverpool at 2:34 P. M. Wednesday, and had on board 423 souls, all told, including 261 members of the crew. All went well with us on our way down the Channel until 9:30 A. M. Thursday, when the ship was torpedoed. There was a

northeasterly wind, and there was only a slight swell on. Therefore, before we were torpedoed we were going at sixteen knots.

Asked as to whether any warning had been given by the submarine, Captain Finch said:

No; we were torpedoed without receiving any warning whatever. I was on the bridge at the time, and had been on the bridge all the way down the Channel. The first indication I had that we were attacked or of the presence of a submarine at all in our vicinity was when I saw the torpedo coming toward the ship at a distance of about 300 feet. That was the very first I saw of it. It approached us at right angles, coming toward us from the north and striking us on the starboard side at a point some 90 or 100 feet, I should say, from the stern.

When the torpedo struck us there was a terrible explosion, so loud that I had never heard anything like it. You can imagine how terrible it was when I tell you it shook the whole ship from stem to stern. The explosion was so stupendous that one of the boats which was swung out from the ship's side was blown into the air in splinters. Then, after the torpedo struck, an immense volume of water was thrown up in the air to a tremendous height, and, of course, there was a great shock.

Asked whether the torpedo struck the ship in a very vital part, Captain Finch said:

Oh, yes, indeed! Why, the ship sank in ten minutes. As soon as she was struck she gave a great list, first to starboard and then to port, and after that she seemed to steady herself a bit. Then she went down quickly by the stern, and disappeared completely in ten minutes.

I did not see a single sign of a submarine, and, as far as I am aware, nobody else saw a submarine, either before or after the occurrence.

German Official Statements About the Arabic's Sinking

The following statement concerning the German Government's attitude in regard to the Arabic was given out in New York on Aug. 24, 1915, by Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador:

THE German Ambassador received the following instructions from Berlin, which he communicated to the Department of State:

So far no official information available concerning the sinking of the

Arabic.

The German Government trusts that the American Government will not take a definite stand at hearing only the reports of one side, which, in the opinion of the Imperial Government, cannot correspond with the facts, but that a chance will be given to Germany to be heard equally.

Although the Imperial Government does not doubt the good faith of the witnesses whose statements are reported by the newspapers in Europe, it should be borne in mind that these statements are naturally made under excitement which might easily produce wrong impressions.

If Americans should actually have lost their lives, this would naturally be contrary to our intentions. The German Government would deeply regret the fact, and begs to tender sincerest sympathies to the American Government.

German Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg informed The Associated Press correspondent in Berlin on Aug. 25 as follows:

As long as the circumstances surrounding the sinking of the Arabic have not been fully cleared up, it is impossible for me to make a definite statement. Thus far we have received no report about it.

Now we do not even know whether the sinking of the ship was caused by a mine or by a torpedo fired from a German submarine, nor do we know whether, in this latter case, the Arabic herself may not by her actions, perhaps, have justified the proceedings of the commander of the submarine.

Only after all these circumstances

have been cleared up will it be possible to say whether the commander of one of our submarines went beyond his instructions, in which case the Imperial Government would not hesitate to give such complete satisfaction to the United States as would conform to the friendly relations existing between both Governments.

On Aug. 27 The Associated Press announced that the State Department had been informed that Germany was ready to renew discussion of the Lusitania incident and to offer reparation for the American lives lost when that vessel was sunk by a German submarine. "There has been no response to the last American note on this subject," the announcement said, "and it is known that the United States will not listen to reparation proposals with the situation created by the sinking of the Arabic still pending." But following an oral statement to Secretary Lansing on Sept. 1, 1915, that Germany had accepted the declarations of the United States in the submarine warfare controversy, Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, sent the following letter to Mr. Lansing:

Washington, D. C., Sept. 1.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: With reference to our conversation of this morning, I beg to inform you that my instructions concerning our answer to your last Lusitania note contains the following passage:

Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

Although I know that you do not wish to discuss the Lusitania question till the Arabic incident has been definitely and satisfactorily settled, I desire to inform you of the above because this policy of my Government was decided on before the Arabic incident occurred.

I have no objection to your making

any use you may please of the above information.

I remain, my dear Mr. Lansing, very sincerely yours,

J. BERNSTORFF.

In connection with the letter, Secretary Lansing made the following statement:

In view of the clearness of the foregoing statement, it seems needless to make any comment in regard to it, other than to say that it appears to be a recognition of the fundamental principle for which we have contended.

This inference was borne out in an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin, dated Aug. 26, 1915, as follows:

The Associated Press is in a position to state on the best authority that the Arabic incident may be considered as eliminated as a source of discord between Germany and America; or at least is regarded by the German Government in that light. Moreover, Germany, in its desire to continue its friendly relations with the United States, had adopted before the sinking of the Arabic a policy designed to settle completely the whole submarine problem as affecting America, on the basis of good-will and mutual understanding.

This is shown clearly by the statement of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg last night, particularly by his concluding remark to the effect that not until all the circumstances in connection with the sinking of the Arabic had been cleared up would it be possible to say "whether the commander of one of our submarines went beyond his instructions," in which case Germany would give complete satisfaction to the United States.

Furthermore, in the course of the conversation the Chancellor twice again referred to the instructions given to submarine commanders. He did not specify in detail the nature of these instructions, but it may be said that they are designed to prevent a repetition of the Lusitania case and to provide that opportunity for escape for American noncombatants upon torpedoed ships which the United States desires.

Having given these instructions, Ger-

many asked suspension of judgment on the Arabic case until the facts were ascertained, being confident it would be shown that the sinking of the vessel was not an unprovoked attack without warning by a German submarine, but was attributed either to a mine explosion or to some action of the vessel itself.

Should it develop, however, that a submarine acted contrary to instructions, ample reparation will be offered.

Germany is still unable to understand why Americans in these troubled times travel on belligerent ships instead of taking American or other neutral steamers, but since they in some instances insist upon taking passage on vessels belonging to belligerents, Germany will do its utmost to provide for their safety.

It is not permissible to quote the remarks made by the Chancellor in the course of the conversation, other than the formal statement which he made. It may be said, however, that Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg showed genuine interest in the state of feeling in the United States concerning the sinking of the Arabic, and expressed the hope that the American people would not form an opinion on the basis of conflicting statements giving only one side of the story. He spoke with emphasis of Germany's desire to maintain the friendship of America.

Quite contrary to the expectations raised in the United States by Count von Bernstorff's and the German Imperial Chancellor's preliminary assurances, Germany's note to the American Government on the sinking of the Arabic, as communicated to the American Ambassador, James W. Gerard, for transmission to Washington as a memorandum dated Sept. 7, 1915, was cabled from Berlin on Sept. 9 in these words:

On Aug. 19 a German submarine stopped the English steamer Dunsley about sixteen nautical miles south of Kinsale and was on the point of sinking the prize by gunfire after the crew had left the vessel. At this moment the commander saw a large steamer making directly toward him. This steamer, as developed later, was the Arabic. She was recognized as an enemy vessel, as she did

not fly any flag and bore no neutral markings.

When she approached she altered her original course, but then again pointed directly toward the submarine. From this the commander became convinced that the steamer had the intention of attacking and ramming her. In order to anticipate this attack he gave orders for the submarine to dive and fired a torpedo at the steamer. After firing, he convinced himself that the people on board were being rescued in fifteen boats.

According to his instructions the commander was not allowed to attack the Arabic without warning and without saving the lives unless the ship atempted to escape or offered resistance. He was forced, however, to conclude from the attendant circumstances that the Arabic planned a violent attack on the submarine.

This conclusion is all the more obvious as he had been fired upon at a great distance in the Irish Sea on Aug. 14—that is, a few days before—by a large passenger steamer apparently belonging to the British Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, which he had neither attacked nor stopped.

The German Government most deeply regrets that lives were lost through the action of the commander. It particularly expresses this regret to the Government of the United States on account of the

death of American citizens.

The German Government is unable. however, to acknowledge any obligation to grant indemnity in the matter, even if the commander should have been mistaken as to the aggressive intentions of the Arabic.

If it should prove to be the case that it is impossible for the German and American Governments to reach a harmonious opinion on this point, the German Government would be prepared to submit the difference of opinion, as being a question of international law, to The Hague Tribunal for arbitration, pursuant to Article 38 of The Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

In so doing, it assumes that, as a matter of course, the arbitral decision shall not be admitted to have the importance of a general decision on the permissibility or the converse under international law of German submarine warfare.

This Imperial German justification of the sinking of the Arabic, as reported from Washington on Sept. 11, immediately presented a grave issue for the consideration of the United States Government. A Washington dispatch transmitted by The Associated Press on Sept. 13 said:

Conferences today between President Wilson and Secretary Lansing, and between Secretary Lansing and Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, brought the situation growing out of German submarine activities to the following status:

1. The German Ambassador has been supplied with the evidence of officers and survivors of the Arabic, all agreeing that the liner was proceeding peacefully when torpedoed without warning, and has been advised that the United States desires a disavowal of the attack and reparation for the

American lives lost.

2. The evidence will be sent by Count von Bernstorff to the Berlin Foreign Office, to which it has not been available before, and probably ten days will elapse before Berlin can be heard from. In some quarters it is believed possible that the Foreign Office, upon examining the evidence, may change its position and disavow the action of the subcommander, marine who, it was claimed in the last note, sunk the liner because he thought she was about to attack him.

3. The United States has all information on the case as it now stands, and is readyto decide upon its course, but action may be delayed until Count von Bernstorff has had time to exchange communications with his Gov-

ernment.

4. While the United States will not consent to arbitration of a principle nor of a question involving the safety of American lives, it has accepted Germany's assurances that peaceful liners will not be torpedoed without warning, and if Germany desires to arbitrate the amount of indemnity, the question of whether the Arabic actually attempted to attack the submarine or whether her action justified the submarine commander in believing he was about to be attacked, that probably would be agreed to.

A special dispatch to THE NEW YORK

Times, dated Sept. 11, 1915, stated the problem presented by the German note on the Arabic in this wise:

Far from contributing toward the adjustment of the issue, the memorandum is regarded as complicating the situation by introducing elements that involve a departure from the fundamental principle for which the United States has been contending in behalf of the rights of noncombatants at sea, and which was thought to have been recognized in the pledge given to the State Department by the German Ambassador on Sept. 1.

The most embarrassing and perplexing new element injected into the situation is the refusal of Germany to "acknowledge any obligation to grant indemnity in the matter, even if the commander should have been mistaken as to the aggressive intentions of the Arabic." This is regarded here as nothing less than an assertion of a right to sink merchant steamers without warning, even when they do not try to escape or offer resistance, on the mere assumption of submarine commanders.

From all that can be gathered in responsible quarters here, the American Government is not ready to accept any such limitation upon the right of American citizens to traverse the high seas in vessels which do not rob themselves of immunity by efforts to escape or by actually offering resistance. The German Government, according to the best obtainable interpretation of the memorandum, after justifying so radical a departure from the pledge in the Bernstorff memorandum, and after refusing to acknowledge responsibility for any mistaken impression of its submarine commander as to the "intentions"-not the "actions"-of the commander of the liner, proposes that difference of opinion between the two Governments over this "point" be submitted "as a question of international law" to arbitrate at The Hague.

It is believed that it would take at least a year to obtain a decision before The Hague, and, in the absence of a guarantee against attacks like that upon the Arabic, hundreds of lives might be lost. Should the arbitrators uphold the

German contention that Germany was under no obligation of responsibility for mistakes by submarine commanders, then both nations could abide by the arbitral judgment that the submarine commander who made the mistake was justified in torpedoing a liner merely because he thought the liner intended aggressive action.

But suppose arbitration should result in a decision that Germany was under obligation to grant indemnity in such a case? The rule of procedure under international law would thus have been settled, but what of the human lives that would have been lost during the arbitration? This is a phase of the German proposal which raises most serious doubts in Washington as to the wisdom of accepting it.

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington dated Sept. 13, 1915, conveyed a statement by President Wilson, as follows:

President Wilson expressed his views of the gravity of the international situation which confronts the United States to a delegation of Virginians, who asked him today to visit the Manassas battlefield late this month.

"We are all hoping and praying that the skies may clear," said the President, "but we have no control of that on this side of the water, and it is impossible to predict any part of the course of affairs."

The President was reminded that some time ago he had promised to go to Manassas to dedicate a tablet.

"When I made that promise," the President told the delegation, "things were just beginning, and a great many things have happened since which have altered not only the aspect of our own affairs, but the aspect of affairs of the world. My experience here day by day is that questions turn up so suddenly and have to be handled so promptly and sometimes with so much thoughtful discretion that I really dare not let my thoughts go out to other matters.

"I could not come to Manassas without having something to say. It would not be worthy of the occasion if I did not make preparations that would be worth while, and that is out of the question. My thoughts are mortgaged beyond recall for the present.

"I simply feel that I have forfeited my liberty for the present, and that my nearest duty is the most obvious and imperative duty. I have been obliged to say this to all invitations, however tempting in character, and I would not be worthy of your trust if I did not come to such a conclusion, because I know that you want these international matters taken care of as best we know how, and I ought not to send my thoughts afield."

Case of the Hesperian

While the case of the sinking of the Arabic was being negotiated in interchanges between the Governments at Washington and Berlin, the first news of the alleged torpedoing of the Allan liner Hesperian came to Washington in the form of a cablegram to the State Department from Consul Frost at Queenstown, dated Sept. 5, 1915. The dispatch reads:

THE Allan liner Hesperian torpedoed by German submarine seventy miles southwest of Fastnet at 8:30 o'clock Saturday evening, [Sept. 4.] One or two Americans on board, none lost. Loss of life about eight.

Vessel has not sunk. Admiralty boats landed passengers and troops at 8:30 o'clock this morning. Have returned to bring Hesperian in here, due about 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

There were about 45 Canadian troops on board, unorganized and mainly invalided, also one 4.7 gun mounted and visible on stern. Vessel bound for Montreal.

An affidavit detailing the circumstances of the sinking of the Hesperian and signed by four officers of the vessel—William O. Main, Commander of the Hesperian; Alexander Maxwell, Chief Officer; Charles Richardson, First Officer, and William F. Reid, Second Officer—was cabled to the State Department on Sept. 7, 1915, by Consul Frost at Queenstown. The affidavit was not given out in full, but this paraphrase was issued:

The Hesperian left Liverpool at 7 P M. on Friday, Sept. 3, and by 8:30 P. M. on Sept. 4 had reached latitude 50 north, longitude 10 west, about eighty miles southwest of Fastnet.

Dusk was closing in rapidly at the time specified when an explosion took place against the starboard bow No. 2 bulkhead, admitting water into compartments 1 and 2. The vessel sank about ten feet within four hours.

The explosion occurred within about eight feet of the surface, throwing a mass of water and steel fragments on the deck. From the steel fragments preserved it is indubitable that the explosion was caused by a torpedo and not by a mine. The characteristic odor of high explosive was noticeable.

No warning of any kind was received by the Hesperian. The track of a torpedo approaching the vessel was not observed by any of the ship's officers. They thought that on account of a failing light it may not have been possible to have seen it. No submarine was sighted before or after the explosion.

A 6-inch gun mounted on the stern of the Hesperian was painted a service gray, and would not have been conspicuous even at a short distance, and the officers think it could not have been observed at all through a periscope.

On board the Hesperian were forty Canadian soldiers, including officers, all either invalided or in attendance upon those invalided. These soldiers were all from various Canadian organizations, but were not organized or traveling as a unit.

No American citizens were among the passengers so far as known. One cabin steward, N. J. Dallas, was an American citizen.

Very slight panic or confusion existed, and the boats and lifesaving apparatus were in readiness and worked well.

Wireless signals, siren, and rockets

brought a British warship on the scene by 9:30, and two other Admiralty vessels before 10:30, but the Hesperian was not under convoy, and had not spoken to an Admiralty ship prior to the torpedoing.

The loss of an American life aboard the Hesperian was first officially intimated in a dispatch to the State Department on Sept. 8, 1915, from Consul Wesley Frost at Queenstown. A Washington dispatch to The New York Times of that date reported:

The report said that among the missing members of the crew was a man named Wolff—his initials were not furnished to the Consul, but who was understood to be from Newark, N. J. The Consul said he had been informed that Wolff had registered as an American when he enrolled as a member of the Hesperian's crew.

The Consul's message was not made public, because officials did not look upon the information it contained as definite or conclusive, and did not feel that they could accept it as such.

An Associated Press dispatch from Queenstown, dated Sept. 8, 1915, stated:

It has been established that an American named Wolff was lost on the Hesperian. Wolff signed as an able seaman of the Hesperian's crew. He came from Newark, N. J., and was of Dutch parentage.

Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, made known on Sept. 8, 1915, that he had received this wireless dispatch from the German Foreign Office in Berlin:

According to information available in Berlin, it appears improbable that the Hesperian was torpedoed. Much more likely the boat ran on a mine. On the same date a special dispatch was sent from Washington to The New York Times as follows:

Secretary Lansing sent a cablegram to Ambassador Gerard at Berlin today, directing him to inquire of the German Government whether it had any report on the attack on the Allan liner Hesperian, and, if so, to ask for a copy of the report. The American Government wishes to be in possession of the German official version of the sinking of the vessel before determining its course of action.

In connection with the delivery on Sept. 14, 1915, to Ambassador Gerard in Berlin by the German Government of a note in regard to the sinking of the steamship Hesperian, this semi-official explanation of the German position was given out:

As we are informed from a competent source, the news already received, taken in connection with facts officially known, seems to exclude almost absolutely the possibility that a German submarine could under any circumstances have been concerned in sinking the British passenger steamer Hesperian.

First, according to the pre-arranged distribution, no German submarine should have been on Sept. 4 in that part of the ocean in which the Hesperian sank.

Furthermore, the explosion, according to descriptions received from British sources, was of such a nature as to indicate from its effects that it was rather of a mine than of a torpedo.

The circumstances that, according to these descriptions, the vessel was struck near the bow and that the bow compartments filled with water, goes to confirm this assumption.



The Archibald Incident Dr. Dumba's Recall Requested

Texts of American Note to Austria-Hungary and of the Offending Letter

Y President Wilson's direction, as announced by the State Department on Sept. 9, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian Government was informed that Dr. Constantin Theodor Dumba, its Ambassador to the United States, "is no longer acceptable" to this Government, and his recall was requested. The request was based on the admission of Dr. Dumba that he "conspired" to instigate strikes in this country for the purpose of preventing the manufacture of munitions of war and that he was guilty of a "flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety" in employing James F. J. Archibald, an American citizen, to bear official dispatches to the Government of Austria-Hungary.

While the Administration was silent on the subject, preferring to let its note to the Austro-Hungarian Government with respect to Dr. Dumba speak for itself, a Washington dispatch to The New York TIMES dated Sept. 9, said that

the opinion is widespread in well-informed circles that the dismissal of Dr. Dumba is intended by President Wilson as an answer to the activities of those persons in this country who have attempted to embarrass the Government through their propaganda in behalf of the Teutonic allies. It is also regarded as notice to diplomatic representatives generally that the Government will not tolerate acts that in any way bear on the right of the American people to conduct their domestic affairs without foreign interference. But, beyond these things, the dismissal of Ambassador Dumba is construed as meaning that the President has determined that the time has passed for showing too tender consideration for Governments that are prone to manifest a disregard for the rights and privileges of the United States and its citizens at home as well as on the high seas.

A further dispatch to THE NEW YORK

TIMES from Washington dated Sept. 10, said:

The Dumba case marked the culmination of a series of pin pricks that the Government has borne with only occasional remonstrance.

Among these pin pricks are recorded the following:

The advertisement inserted in American newspapers by the German Embassy. warning Americans not to take passage in British vessels-"the amazing indiscretion," President Wilson called it in one of the Lusitania notes; the propaganda of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former German Colonial Minister, which ended by his practically enforced departure from these shores, because he justified the Lusitania horror; the forgery of United States passports to enable German reservists to join the colors at home, and to serve as spies in the countries of Germany's enemies; the effort to send military information by radio from Sayville; the furnishing of perjured affidavits to the State Department to back up the German contontion that the Lusitania was armed; the interference with work in munitions plants, although initial responsibility for this is not known to have been fixed; the accusations against President Wilson's neutral conduct: the organization of so-called peace societies and associations of laboring men, with the object of creating sentiment against the President and interfering with industries whose products might benefit the Entente Allies; and the pro-German propaganda with its many ramifications, including what is regarded here as the most important and dangerous-the effort to influence United States Senators and Representatives to bring pressure to bear on the Executive and the Congress for the adoption of measures placing an embargo on war munitions exports.

The cumulative pin pricks have had their effect scarcely less than the cleaver cuts, like the greatest of all of them, the sinking of the Lusitania, with the loss of more than one hundred Americans—men, women, and children. In official circles today there is a new feeling that the period of half-way measures in dealing with the

situation confronting the United States has passed, the period of overzealous consideration for the sensibilities of foreign Governments and those Americans who have said "We must be firm, but must have no trouble with anybody."

The alleged discourtesy of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador was regarded in Washington as having been aggravated by the fact that the American Government recently sent a diplomatic communication to Dr. Dumba's Government, in which the principle was laid down that there was no violation of neutrality in the exportation of arms and ammunition from this country to Great Britain and to other enemies of Austria and Germany. This communication put President Wilson and Secretary Lansing squarely on record as refusing to be influenced by the propaganda among pro-Germans in the United States to induce the Government to place an embargo on such exports. Austria-Hungary was told for the benefit of herself and Germany that if the rule were adopted that neutral nations should not ship war supplies to belligerents, every nation would be obliged to turn itself into an armed camp at all times in the realization that it must maintain large armies and keep on hand great stores of arms and ammunition for its own protection in the event of hostilities.

This note, which was signed by Secretary Lansing and represented the views of President Wilson, was intended to be the last word in the controversy over the munitions export business. It was held, in effect, by this Government that an American manufacturer of war munitions had as much right to engage in trade with belligerents as had the manufacturer of goods not necessary to the conduct of a war. The note was sent in response to a polite protest from the Vienna Government, which contended that, while the export of munitions was not expressly forbidden, the output of the United States had so increased since the outbreak of the European war that the status of the United States as a neutral nation was impaired. Austria-Hungary suggested that a provision of one of The Hague treaties appeared to make it necessary for the United States to place an embargo on munition shipments, but this point was answered by the assertion that it was for the neutral country and not for a belligerent to determine whether it was to the interest of the neutral to stop munitions

The recall of Dr. Dumba does not constitute a break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Austria-Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian Government will continue to be represented

in this country by Baron Erich Zwiedinek, the Counselor of the Embassy, who was to serve as Chargé d'Affaires after Dr. Dumba left.

ARCHIBALD'S CASE

The Central News reported in London on Sept. 1, 1915, that James F. J. Archibald, an American newspaper correspondent who was apprehended by the British authorities when the steamer Rotterdam, bound from New York for Rotterdam, put into Falmouth, was carrying dispatches to Berlin and Vienna from the German and Austrian Embassies at Washington; that Mr. Archibald was charged with performing an unneutral service. He was subsequently released, but the dispatches were retained by the officials.

Dr. Henry van Dyke, the American Minister to the Netherlands, on Sept. 11, explained at The Hague the departure of James F. J. Archibald for New York as follows:

Being informed of a secret treasonable message from Ambassador Dumba to the Foreign Office in Vienna carried by James Archibald, I stopped Archibald, took up his passport, and sent him back to America aboard the Rotterdam, to report to the Department of State.

A letter in the handwriting of Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, to Foreign Minister Burian at Vienna, recommending a plan to cripple factories making munitions for the Allies in this country through Hungarian employes in those factories was among the documents seized in the possession of James F. J. Archibald, as first announced by the London correspondent of The New York World.

There was also found hidden in Archibald's stateroom, The World correspondent asserted, a typewritten memorandum of considerable length prepared by the editor of a Hungarian newspaper in this city, which explained how Hungarians employed in the Bethlehem Steel Works and other plants making munitions were to be used to cripple these plants.

One paper found in Archibald's possession was written by Captain von Papen, Military Attaché of the German Embassy, to the German War Office. The last sentence of this letter was:

I could probably dispose of the useless toluol from the Lehigh Coke Company, which is lying here for the account of the Norwegian Government.

There was nothing in the dispatch to throw further light on this. Efforts were made to learn from officials connected with the German Embassy how a German Military Attaché could have the authority to dispose of property of the Norwegian Government, but at the German Summer Embassy at Cedarhurst and the offices of the Attachés no information could be obtained.

The Lehigh Coke Company has its plant at South Bethlehem, Penn. It is supplied with coal by the Bethlehem Steel Company, and is under a contract to supply all of its product to the Bethlehem Steel Company. The Bethlehem Steel Company, controlled by Charles M. Schwab, is one of the largest plants in this country making munitions for the Allies.

THE STRIKE PLOTS

A special dispatch from Detroit, Mich., to The New York Times, dated Sept. 10, said:

Detroit and Cleveland have been centres for ninety days of a resourceful campaign aimed to cause 50,000 or more Austro-Hungarians, employed in motor factories, foundry and machine shops, and kindred industries having to do with the production of war munitions, to give up their places.

Employers of these men have been alive for weeks to the peril that lay behind the efforts of Dr. Dumba and his agents and have matched resource with resource in their efforts to preserve industrial peace. They have been successful, in the main, partly through secret agencies, which have sought to frustrate the plans which, when officially revealed, brought about the demand for Dr. Dumba's recall.

In addition to Dr. Dumba and Archibald these persons are conspicuous in the inquiry here:

Dr. Ernest Ludwig, Consul for Austria-Hungary, stationed in Cleveland, whose jurisdiction incudes Middle Western territory.

Hans Pelenyi, the Vice Consul.

William Warm, associate editor of the Cleveland Daily Szabadsag, (Liberty,) who devised the scheme to tie up munitions plants in advance of action by Dr. Dumba, and is now New York correspondent of the Szabadsag.

Z. Zalay, former editor of The Toledo Herald, who first brought Warm's scheme to Archibald's attention.

G. Hosko, editor of the Cleveland Szabadsag, who exposed publicly the false "credit" which Dr. Dumba obtained for the strike scheme and revealed his coworker as the real author.

A large number of persons are working against these men. Count Stanislaus von Waleski, an official of the Polish National Alliance, is one. He is the representative of a Detroit corporation's agency which ferreted out Austro-Hungarian strike propaganda.

Henry J. Hinde, General Manager of the Toledo Machine and Tool Company, is another. Menaced by a walkout, he hired Secret Service agents to frustrate the Teutonic activities, but finally adjusted their differences.

DIPLOMATS RECALLED

Dr. Constantin Theodor Dumba had been Ambassador to the United States a little more than two years, having been named for the office in March, 1913. He succeeded Baron Hengelmuller, whose long period of service as Ambassador had been marked by great social popularity. As Dean of the Diplomatic Corps he had won distinction throughout the country.

Dr. Dumba had served as Minister to Sweden for several years before coming to Washington, and had made an excellent record for himself in that post. Having large wealth and coming of a prominent Austrian family, he was regarded as eminently fitted for diplomatic duties.

The recall of Dr. Dumba, which the United States has requested of Austria-Hungary, puts the Ambassador into a fairly long list of diplomats who have made themselves so unsatisfactory to the United States that passports have been handed to them or their Governments have been asked to withdraw them. While there is no fixed rule on the subject, the simple dismissal of an envoy by giving him his passports is regarded as the harsher course.

As far back as 1793 Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State under President Washington, asked for the recall of Citizen Genet, who was sent to this country by the French Committee of Safety after the execution of Louis XVI. The Minis-

ter's offense was that while the United States was at peace with Great Britain he wished to commission privateers to prey on British commerce, and made inflammatory speeches against Great Britain.

Twelve years later, in 1805, passports were handed to the Marquis of Casa Yrujo, then Spanish Minister at Washington, for tampering with the local press by attempting to bribe a Philadelphia editor to present the Spanish side of a controversy with the United States.

The first British Minister to be recalled was F. J. Jackson. Mr. Jackson had accused the American Government of bad faith in entering into an agreement with his predecessor which he said the United States knew the previous Minister had not been authorized to make. He also circularized British Consuls in an effort to arouse feeling against the United States.

M. Poussin was recalled as Minister from France because of his impertinence to the American Secretary of State.

In 1855 British Minister Crampton was recalled at the request of the United States, and the exequators of three British Consuls were canceled because of their activities in enlisting soldiers for the Crimean war, though the actual enlistments were to take place in Canada.

The most historic incident of the sort arose when Lord Sackville-West, in response to a decoy letter, advised Americans of British birth to vote for Grover Cleveland for President. The incident came to light after Mr. Cleveland's inauguration and he referred in an annual

message to this "unpardonable conduct," saying: "The offense thus committed was more grave, involving disastrous possibilities to the good relations of the United States and Great Britain, constituting a gross breach of diplomatic privilege and an invasion of the purely domestic affairs and essential sovereignty of the Government to which the envoy was accredited."

President Cleveland directed that passports be handed to the discredited Minister. Lord Salisbury, in acknowledging notice of this action, said that the handing of passports to Lord Sackville-West left nothing to dispute, but he denied that the acceptance or retention of a Minister depended solely upon the Government to which he was accredited. This principle was assented to by Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, but he added that the circumstances involving an interference with the American suffrage left no other course open to the United States.

The most recent incident affecting an envoy of Ministerial rank was the dismissal of the Spanish Minister, Dupuy de Lome, who wrote disrespectfully of President McKinley to a friend in Cuba. In President Taft's Administration passports were handed to the Nicaraguan Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Rodrigues, as a protest against the judicial murder in Nicaragua of two Americans, Mr. Cannon and Mr. Groce.

There have been a number of incidents in which foreign Governments recalled their representatives in protest against some American action.

Full German Text and Translation of Dr. Dumba's Letter to Baron Burian

As cabled from London on Sept. 9, 1915, the following is an exact copy in German of Ambassador Dumba's letter to Baron Burian, the envelops of which was addressed: "Durch gute Gelegenheit Ser. Excellenz Freiherrn von Burian, &c., &c., &c., Wien":

New York, 20. August 1915. ochwohlgeborener Freiherr!

Gestern Abend erhielt Genes ralkonful von Ruber das anlies gende ProsMemoria von dem Hauptredakteur der hiesigen einflußreichen Zeitung "Szababsag" nach einer vorhers gehenden Besprechung mit mir und in Ausführung seiner mündlichen Vorschläge behufs Vorbereitung von Aufständen in Bethlehem Schwabs Stahls und Munistionsfabriken sowie im Middle West.

Beute 12 Uhr fährt der Gurer Erzelleng wohlbekannte Mr. Archibald auf der "Rot= terdam" nach Berlin und Wien. mochte diese seltene fichere Gelegenheit be= nugen, um die Borichlage Gurer Erzelleng wohlwollenden Berücksichtigung wärmstens Ich habe ben Eindruck, zu empfehlen. daß wir die Produktion von Kriegsbedarf in Bethlebem und in Middle Weft wenn auch nicht gang berhindern, fo doch ftart desorganisieren und auf Monate aufhal= ten können, was nach Ausfage des beutschen Militärattaches von großer Wichtig= keit ift und das relativ kleine Geldopfer reichlich aufwiegt.

Aber selbst wenn die Aufstände nicht gelingen, so ist dort Wahrscheinlichkeit borhanden, daß wir für unsere gedrückten Landsleute unter dem Druck der Konjunkstur günstige Arbeitsbedingungen erzwinsgen. In Bethlehem arbeiten jeht diese weißen Sklaven zwölf Stunden täglich in sieben Tage in der Woche!! Alle schwaschen Leute gehen zu Grunde, werden ams

ftetrant (brufttrant?).

gebenheit.

So weit beutsche Arbeiter unter ben geschickten Elementen vorhanden sind, wird für ihren Austritt sofort gesorgt werden. Es ist außerdem ein deutsches privates [underlined] Stellenvermittlungsbureau geschaffen worden, welsches solchen freiwillig und schon gut funtstioniert. Wir werden auch beitreten und die weitgehendste Unterstützung ist uns zusaedacht.

Ich bitte Eure Erzellenz um gütige Berftändigung burch drahtlofe Antwort mit Bezug auf diesen Brief, ob Hochben=

felben einwilligen. In größter Gile und ehrungsvoller Er=

[Translation.]

C. Dumba.

Following is a translation of Dr. Dumba's letter to Burian. The letter was entirely in Dr. Dumba's handwriting. The envelope was addressed, "Through good opportunity to his Excellency Freiherr von Burian, &c., &c., &c., Vienna."

New York, 20 August, 1915. **TOBLE LORD**:

Yesterday evening Consul General von Nuber received the inclosed pro memoria [aide mémoire, as it has been called, or simply "memorandum"] from the chief editor of the local influential newspaper Szabadsag after a previous conversation with me and in pursuance of his oral proposals with respect to the preparation of disturbances in the Bethlehem Schwab's steel and munitions factories as well as in the Middle West.

Today at 12 o'clock Mr. Archibald, who is well known to your Excellency, leaves on the Rotterdam for Berlin and Vienna. I would like to use this rare, safe opportunity to recommend the proposals most warmly to your Excellency's favorable consideration.

I am under the impression that we could, if not entirely prevent the production of war material in Bethlehem and in the Middle West, at any rate strongly disorganize it and hold it up for months, which, according to the statement of the German Military Attaché, is of great importance, and which amply outweighs the relatively small sacrifice of money.

But even if the disturbance do not succeed, there is a probability at hand that we shall compel, under pressure of the crisis, favorable working conditions for our poor, oppressed fellow-countrymen. In Bethlehem these white slaves at present work twelve hours a day seven days in the week! All weak persons succumb, become consumptive. As far as German workingmen are found among the skilled elements, provision will be made forthwith for their exit. There has, besides this, been created a German private (underlined) registry office for providing employment, and which already works voluntarily and well for such persons. We, too, shall join, and the widest support is contemplated for us.

I beg your Excellency kindly to inform me through wireless reply with respect to this lettter, whether you approve of same.

In greatest haste and respectful devotion, C. DUMBA.

American Note to Austria-Hungary Requesting the Recall of Ambassador Dumba

Secretary of State Lansing on Sept. 9, 1915, announced that the Department of State had instructed Ambassador Penfield at Vienna to deliver to the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs the following note:

MR. CONSTANTIN DUMBA, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Washington, has admitted that he proposed to his Government plans to instigate strikes in American manufacturing plants engaged in the production of munitions of war. The information reached this Government through a copy of a letter of the Ambassador to his Government. The bearer was an American citizen named Archibald, who was traveling under an American passport. The Ambassador has admitted that he employed Archibald to bear official dispatches from him to his Government.

By reason of the admitted purpose and intent of Mr. Dumba to conspire to cripple legitimate industries of the people of the United States and to interrupt their legitimate trade and by reason of the flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety in employing an American citizen protected by an American passport as a secret bearer of official dispatches through the lines of the enemy of Austria-Hungary, the President directs me to inform your Excellency that Mr. Dumba is no longer acceptable to the Government of the United States as the Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty at Washington.

Believing that the Imperial and Royal Government will realize that the Government of the United States has no alternative but to request the recall of Mr. Dumba on account of his improper conduct, the Government of the United States expresses its deep regret that this course has become necessary and assures the Imperial and Royal Government that it sincerely desires to continue the cordial and friendly relations which exist between the United States and Austria-Hungary.

Ambassador Dumba's

At Lenox, Mass., Dr. Constantin Theodor Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, admitted on Sept. 5, 1915, that he gave James F. J. Archibald, an American newspaper correspondent, a letter for delivery to Foreign Minister Burian in Vienna, in which he proposed certain measures to be taken to hamper the manufacture of munitions for the Allies in America. Dr. Dumba said:

THERE was nothing in the dispatches which Archibald carried that cannot be satisfactorily explained. The proposals regarding embarrassing steel works were nothing more than a very open and perfectly proper method to be taken to bring before men of our races employed in the big steel works the fact that they were engaged in enterprises

Statement in Defense

unfriendly to their fatherland, and that the Imperial Government would hold the workers in munition plants where contracts are being filled for the Allies as being guilty of a serious crime against their country, something that would be punishable by penal servitude should they return to their own country.

There are thousands of workingmen in the big steel industries, natives of Bohemia, Moravia, Carniola, Galicia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and other peoples of the races from Austria-Hungary, who are uneducated and who do not understand that they are engaged in a work against their own country. In order to bring this before them I have subsidized many newspapers published in the languages and dialects of the divi-

sions mentioned, attempting in this way to bring the felonious occupation to their attention. But this has been difficult. In some of the great steel plants of Pennsylvania these uneducated men of my country are nothing more or less than slaves. They are even being worked twelve hours a day, and herded in stockades. It is difficult to get at these workers except en masse, and a peaceful walkout of these workingmen would be of the greatest advantage to my Government, as well as an indemnity to themselves.

It is my duty as the representative of Austria-Hungary to make known these facts to the Imperial Government, and in so doing I am performing a service for which I was sent to this country. The dispatches or letters carried by Archibald contained nothing more than a proposal that we attempt to call out the workmen of our own country from these steel and munition works and provide for them other employment. To do so money would be necessary and a labor employment bureau would have to be organized. This is one of the things I shall bring before the Secretary of Labor in Washington this week. This seems to me to be a legitimate and entirely satisfactory means of preventing the making and shipping of war materials to our enemies.

My letter which Mr. Archibald carried does not contradict anything that Count von Bernstorff has said, for his people and the great bulk of those who make up our Austro-Hungarian races are entirely different types. The greater part of German workmen of all ranks are educated. They read and discuss matters and can be easily reached. Not so with the many races and the great ignorant mass of our peoples. Promises of better wages and easier employment must be made and their position in aiding the enemy must be brought home to them. Where there are a hundred German-born men working in the factories there are thousands of Austrians. Remedies for reaching these races must differ, and there is no conspiracy in an open attempt to call out the Austrian citizens at Bethlehem or elsewhere. Such a proposal as this was the letter of which it is said a photographic copy was made and its contents cabled to the State Department at Washington. It is to prevent the letter from being censored or garbled that I shall ask Secretary Lansing for an opportunity to explain.

BARON ZWIEDINEK'S STATE-MENT.

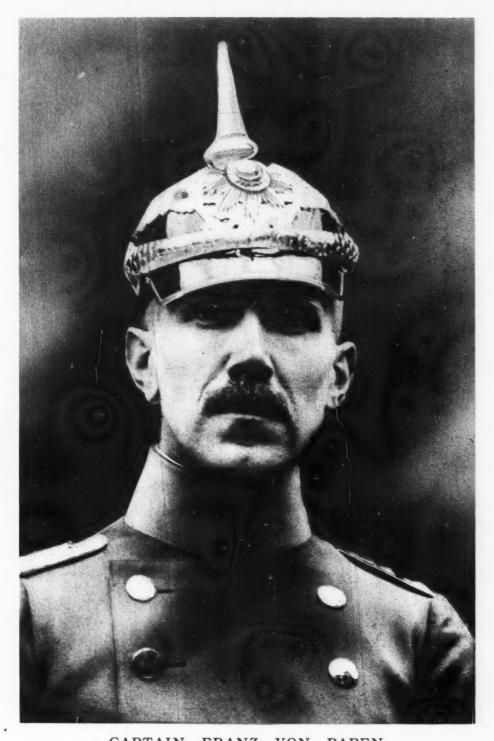
The news of the request for the recall of Ambassador Dumba was received with incredulity at the Austro-Hungarian Summer Embassy at Lenox, Mass., on Sept. 9. Later, after the news had been in a measure confirmed, Baron Erich Zwiedinek, Counselor of the Embassy, who was to become Chargé d'Affaires after the recall of Ambassador Dumba, issued the following signed statement:

It is difficult, in the lack of fuller information, for officials of the embassy to discuss this matter, but I am very much surprised at hearing this news, which I am still reluctant to believe and which I very much hope will not be verified.

I know Dr. Dumba personally very well, and from my conversations with him I could not think that he should have intended fomenting strikes in munitions plants. We have certainly and naturally felt a satisfaction when reading in the papers of difficulties and strikes in factories making munitions for the Allies, but to foment such a thing ourselves would have been such an absolutely impossible undertaking that it would be for me quite inconceivable that Dr. Dumba should have suddenly had such an idea.

One has only to think of the enormous number of laborers employed in these factories, which runs into the hundreds of thousands, to realize how many millions of dollars would be necessary to produce any practical effect. Dr. Dumba, so far as I have understood, asked for only a few thousand dollars, so it seems to me evident that he had only a humanitarian idea in mind, as he also mentioned to me when returning from New York.

The Imperial and Royal Government had pointed out the legal penalties which would be incurred by Austro-Hungarian subjects who returned home from Amer-



CAPTAIN FRANZ VON PAPEN

Military Attache of the German Embassy in Washington, Whose Withdrawal Was Announced as a Consequence of the Dumba Exposure

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)



RECENT PORTRAIT OF T. VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG German Imperial Chancellor, Whose Speech at the Opening of the Reichstag on August 15 Roused Worldwide Comment (Photo from Bain News Service)

ica after the war if they had worked in factories making munitions for the Allies. These penalties would not only have been those prescribed by the law for helping enemies of the monarchy, but much more so those of public opinion, as in the case of a man who had made munitions for the Allies who should go back to his home village perhaps to inherit the property of men who had been killed by those munitions. Naturally, these considerations, if brought to their attention, might have caused a certain number of Austro-Hungarian subjects to leave their employment in American munition factories, and I had been of the opinion that Dr. Dumba's plans were designed only to give aid to needy workingmen who had given up their work and had not yet found other employment. The small sum of money suggested in this connection, I believe only \$15,000, would have been absolutely insufficient to finance a strike.

Besides, I am quite certain that if, on second thought, Dr. Dumba had come to the conclusion that his ideas were not in accord with the duties and obligations toward the United States Government imposed by his position here he would have withdrawn himself. even if appearances at first should be against him, I am especially sorry that the whole matter of sending this letter has been done in such a rush. I am confident that the Imperial and Royal Government has not the slightest desire for any complications or difficulties with the United States, for it puts too much value on the cordial and friendly relations which have always existed between the two Governments and which have been emphasized of late.

The Hyphen

By BEATRICE BARRY.

Where do you stand? The sentiments you voice
Would be called treason in your native land!
You would not dare there to rejoice
At work done by assassin's hand;
You would not form "societies" or say
Just when you would, and when you would not, fight,
And then the Government proceed to flay
For policies you did not think were right.

Those things cannot be done where you were born—Where liberty of speech is quite unknown;
So all the vials of your wrath and scorn
Are for another country than your own—
A country that extended friendly hands,
Helped the ambitious, succored the forlorn.
Allegiance to all other Kings and lands
You have renounced on oath. Are you forsworn?

Ingratitude so base must be confined
To some loud-voiced and too impressive few.
Rise, then, and say that you have been maligned
By those who undertake to speak for you!
Does honor leave you any other choice?
Surely our doubts, by these your spokesmen fanned,
Will die still-born, when, with one mighty voice,
You answer honestly—where do you stand?

Standing by the President

By Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt, speaking on the evening of Aug. 25, 1915, on the drill plain of the United States Military Instruction Camp at Plattsburg, N. Y., denounced the hyphenated American, the professional pacifist, the poltroon, the "college sissy," and the man with "a mean soul." Later he gave out for publication a statement in which he said Americans should stand by the Presiden, but only so far as he was right, and spoke of "elocution as a substitute for action." Because of the ex-President's utterances criticising the Administration, Secretary of War Garrison telegraphed a rebuke to Major Gen. Leonard Wood for permitting them to be made at a Federal encampment. Just before leaving the camp on Aug. 25 Colonel Roosevelt dictated the subjoined statement.

WISH to make one comment on the statement so frequently made that we must stand by the President. I heartily subscribe to this on condition and only on condition that it is followed by the statement so long as the President stands by the country.

It is defensible to state that we stand by the country, right or wrong; it is not defensible for any free man in a free republic to state that he will stand by any official right or wrong, or by any exofficial.

Even as regards the country, while I believe that once war is on, every citizen should stand by the land, yet in any crisis which may or may not lead up to war, the prime duty of the citizen is, by criticism and advice, even against what he may know to be the majority opinion of his fellow citizens, to insist that the nation take the right course of action.

There is even a stronger reason for demanding of every loyal citizen that, after the President has been given ample time to act rightly and has either not acted at all or has acted wrongly, he shall be made to feel that the citizens whom he has been elected to serve demand that he be loyal to the honor and to the interests of the land.

The President has the right to have said of him nothing but what is true; he should have sufficient time to make his policy clear; but as regards supporting him in all public policy, and above all in international policy, the right of any President is only to demand public support because he does well; because he serves the public well, and not merely because he is President.

Presidents differ, just like other folks. No man could effectively stand by President Lincoln unless he had stood against President Buchanan. If, after the firing on Sumter, President Lincoln had in a public speech announced that the believers in the Union were too proud to fight, and if instead of action there had been three months of admirable elocutionary correspondence with Jefferson Davis, by midsummer the friends of the Union would have followed Horace Greeley's advice, to let the erring sisters go in peacefor peace at that date was put above righteousness by some mistaken souls, just as it is at the present day.

The man who believes in peace at any price or in substituting all inclusive arbitration treaties for an army and navy should instantly move to China. If he stays here, then more manly people will have to defend him, and he is not worth defending. Let him get out of the country as quickly as possible. To treat elocution as a substitute for action, to rely upon high-sounding words unbacked by deeds, is proof of a mind that dwells only in the realm of shadow and of sham.

THIS NATION'S NEEDS

Colonel Roosevelt's speech follows in full:

I wish to congratulate all who have been at this Plattsburg camp and at the similar camps throughout the country upon the opportunity they have had to minister to their own self-respect by fitting themselves to serve the country if the need should arise. You have done your duty. In doing it you have added to your value as citizens. You have the right to hold your heads higher because you are fulfilling the prime duty of freemen.

No man is fit to be free unless he is not merely willing but eager to fit himself to fight for his freedom, and no man can fight for his freedom unless he is trained to act in conjunction with his The worst of all feelings to arouse in others is the feeling of contempt. Those men have mean souls who desire that this nation shall not be fit to defend its own rights and that its sons shall not possess a high and resolute temper. But even men of stout heart need to remember that when the hour for action has struck no courage will avail unless there has been thorough training, thorough preparation in advance.

The greatest need for this country is a first-class navy. Next, we need a thoroughly trained regular or professional army of 200,000 men if we have universal military service; and of at least half a million men if we do not have such universal military service.

At present a single army corps from Germany or Japan (which, if subtracted from the efficient fighting forces of either would not even be felt) could at any time be ferried across the ocean and take New York or San Francisco and destroy them or hold them to ransom with absolute impunity, and the United States at present would be helpless to do more than blame some scapegoat for what was really the fault of our people as a whole in failing to prepare in advance against the day of disaster.

But the professional navy and the professional army are not enough. Free citizens should be able to do their own fighting. The professional pacifist is as much out of place in a democracy as is the poltroon himself; and he is no better citizen than the poltroon. Probably no body of citizens in the United States during the last five years have wrought so efficiently for national decadence and international degradation as the professional pacifists, the peace-at-any-price men, who have tried to teach our people that silly all-inclusive arbitration treaties and the utterance of fatuous platitudes

at peace congresses are substitutes for adequate military preparedness.

These people are seeking to Chinafy this country. A high Japanese military officer recently remarked to a gentleman of my acquaintance that the future dominion over the seas and lands of the Pacific lay with Japan, because China was asleep and America was falling asleep, and in this world the future lay with the nations of patriotic and soldierly spirit. If the United States were to follow the lead of the professional pacifists and to permit itself to be Chinafied, this observer's opinion would be quite correct.

It is an abhorrent thing to make a wanton or an unjust war. It is an abhorrent thing to trespass on the rights of the weak. But it is an utterly contemptible thing to be unable and unwilling to fight for one's own rights in the first place, and then, if possessed of sufficient loftiness of soul, to fight for the rights of the weak who are wronged. The greatest service that has ever been rendered mankind has been rendered by the men who have not shrunk from righteous war in order to bring about righteous peace, by soldier-statesmen of the type of Washington, by statesmen of the type of Abraham Lincoln, whose work was done by soldiers. The men of the Revolution and the men of the civil war, and the women who raised these men to be soldiers are the men and women to whom we owe a deathless debt of gratitude.

This means that all our young men should be trained so that at need they can fight. Under the conditions of modern warfare it is the wildest nonsense to talk of men springing to arms in mass unless they have been taught how to act and how to use the arms to which they spring.

For thirteen months America has played an ignoble part among the nations. We have tamely submitted to seeing the weak, whom we had covenanted to protect, wronged. We have seen our own men, women, and children murdered on the high seas, without action on our part. We have treated elocution as a substitute for action. During this time our Govern-

ment has not taken the smallest step in the way of preparedness to defend our own rights. Yet these thirteen months have made evident the lamentable fact that force is more dominant now in the affairs of the world than ever before; that the most powerful of modern military nations is utterly brutal and ruthless in its disregard of international morality, and that righteousness divorced from force is utterly futile. Reliance upon high-sounding words unbacked by deeds is proof of a mind that dewlls only in the realm of shadow and sham.

This camp has lasted two months. It has done immense good to you who have been able to come here—although, by the way, you must not think that it has more than marked the beginning of training you to your duties. But you have been able to come because you are either yourself fairly well-to-do or else because you happen to serve employers who are both public-spirited and fairly well-to-do, and who give you holidays with pay.

The Government has not paid a dollar for this camp. Inasmuch as we as a nation have done nothing whatever for national defense during the last thirteen months, the time when during all our history it was most necessary to prepare for self-defense, it is well that private individuals should have tried, however insufficiently, to provide some kind of substitute for proper governmental action. The army officers and enlisted men have put all good Americans under a fresh debt by what they have done in connection with this camp, and we owe much to the private citizens who have advanced the money without which the camp could not have been held.

But you men have had to buy your own uniforms; you have had to spend money in fifty different ways; in other words, you have had to pay for the privilege of learning how to serve your country. This means that for every one man like yourselves who can afford to come here there are a hundred equally good American citizens, equally patriotic, who would like to come and are unable to. It is undemocratic that the young farmer, that the young hired man on a farm, that the hardworking clerk or mechanic

or day laborer, all of whom wish to serve the country as much as you do and are as much entitled to the benefit of this camp as you are, should be unable to attend such a camp.

They cannot attend to it unless the nation does as Switzerland has done and gives the opportunity for every generous and right-thinking American to learn by, say, six months' actual service in one year or two years how to do his duty to the country if the need arises—and the Americans who are not right-thinking should be made to serve anyhow, for a democracy has full right to the service of its citizens.

Such service would be an immense benefit to the man industrially. It would not only help the nation, but it would help each individual who undergoes the training. Switzerland has universal military service, and it is the most democratic and least militaristic of countries, and a much more orderly and less homicidal country than our own.

Camps like this are schools of civic virtue as well as of military efficiency. They should be universal and obligatory for all our young men. Every man worth his salt will wish to come to them.

As for the professional pacifists and the poltroons and college sissies who organize peace-at-any-price societies, and the mere money-getters and mere moneyspenders, they should be made to understand that they have got to render whatever service the country demands. They must be made to submit to training in doing their duty. Then if, in the event of war, they prove unfit to fight, at any rate they can be made to dig trenches and kitchen sinks, or do whatever else a debauch of indulgence in professional pacificism has left them fit to do. Both the professional pacifists and the professional hyphenated American need to be taught that it is not for them to decide the conditions under which they will fight. They will fight whoever the nation decides to fight, and whenever the nation deems a war necessary.

Camps like this are the best possible antidotes to hyphenated Americanism. The worst thing that could befall this country would be to have the American

nation become a tangle of jangling nationalities, a knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, and French-Americans. If divided in such fashion, we shall most certainly fall. We can stand as a nation only if we are genuinely united.

The events of the past year have shown us that in any crisis the hyphenated American is an active force against America, an active force for wrongdoing. The effort to hoist two flags on the same flagpole always means that one flag is hoisted underneath, and the hyphenated American invariably hoists the flag of the United States underneath. We must all be Americans and nothing else. You in this camp include men of every creed and every national origin-Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, men of English and Irish, German and French, Slavonic and Latin, and Scandinavian descent. But you are all Americans, and nothing else. You have only one nationality. You acknowledge but one country. You are loyal to only one flag.

There exists no finer body of American citizens in this country than those citizens of German birth or descent who are in good faith Americans and nothing else. We could create an entire national Administration, from the President down to the last Cabinet officer, every one of whose members would be of German blood and some of them of German birth, but all of them Americans and nothing else, all of them Americans of such a type that the men who feel as I do could heartily and without reserve support them in all our international relations. But the Americans of German blood who are of this type are not hyphenated Americans. They are not German-Americans. They are just plain Americans like the rest of us. The professional German-American has shown himself within the last twelve months to be an enemy to this country as well as to humanity. The recent exposures of the way in which these German-Americans have worked together with the emissaries of the German Government-often by direct corruptionagainst the integrity of American institutions and against America doing its international duty should arouse scornful

indignation in every American worth calling such. The leaders among the professional German-Americans have preached and practiced what comes perilously near to treason against the United States.

Under The Hague Convention it was our bounden duty to take whatever action was necessary to prevent and, if not to prevent, then to undo, the hideous wrong that was done to Belgium. We have shirked this duty. We have shown a spirit so abject that Germany has deemed it safe to kill our women and children on the high seas. As for the export of munitions of war, it would be a base abandonment of morality to refuse to make these shipments. Such a refusal is proposed only to favor the nation that sank the Lusitania and the Arabic and committed the crime against Belgium, the greatest international crime committed since the close of the Napoleonic contests a century ago. It is not a lofty thing, on the contrary it an evil thing, to practice a timid and selfish neutrality between right and wrong. It is wrong for an individual. It is still more wrong for a nation. worse in the name of neutrality to favor the nation that has done evil.

As regards the export of munitions of war, the morality of the act depends upon the use to which the munitions are to be put. It was wrong to subjugate Belgium. It is wrong to keep her in subjugation. It is an utterly contemptible thing not to help in every possible way to undo this wrong. The manufacturers of cannon, rifles, cartridges, automobiles, or saddlery who refuse to ship them for use by the armies that are striving to restore Belgium to its own people should be put on a roll of dishonor.

Exactly the same morality should obtain internationally that obtains nationally. It is right for a private firm to furnish arms to the policeman who puts down the thug, the burglar, the white slaver, and the blackhander. It is wrong to furnish the blackhander, the burglar, and the white slaver with weapons to be used against the policeman. The analogy holds true in international life.

Cermany has herself been the greatest

manufacturer of munitions of war to be supplied to belligerents. She supplied munitions to England to subjugate the Boers and to the Turk to keep the Christians in subjection. Let us furnish munitions to the men who, showing courage which we have not shown, wish to rescue Belgium from subjection and spoliation and degradation. And let us encourage munition makers, so that we may be able to hold our own when the hour of peril comes to us in our turn, as assuredly it will come if we show ourselves too "neutral" to speak a word on behalf of the weak who are wronged and too slothful and lazy to prepare to defend ourselves against wrong. Most assuredly it will come to us if we succeed in persuading great military nations that we are too proud to fight, that we are not prepared to undertake defensive war for our own vital interest and national honor.

Therefore, friends, let us shape our conduct as a nation in accordance with the highest rules of international morality. Let us treat others justly and keep the engagements we have made, such as those in The Hague Conventions, to secure just treatment for others. But let us remember that we shall be wholly unable to render service to others and wholly unable to fulfill the prime law of national being, the law of self-preservation, unless we are thoroughly prepared to hold our own. Let us show that a free democracy can defend itself successfully against any organized and aggressive military despotism. To do so we must prepare as a nation; and the men of this camp and the men responsible for starting this camp have shown our Government and our people the path along which we should tread.

German Suffragism and War

A correspondent of The Associated Press in Berlin notes that a woman Socialist discusses in the Vorwaerts of Berlin the view held by many of her sex in Germany that the war will bring German women nearer the goal of political equality. She says:

We warn the people of our party not to cherish too many hopes, and to remember that every privilege which has any value and brings us forward must be won. The war has perhaps brought us nearer to enfranchisement, in that the opponents of woman suffrage have been deprived of many of their most serviceable arguments, and, above all, because the least interested woman must clearly see how urgently women citizens need political influence, which they can exercise only through the vote. The bare fact that a war of such tremendous effect, such widespread dimensions, and such painful losses in every belligerent country could have come to pass must create in women—who are most deeply affected—a resolve to co-operate in the prevention of future wars.

After the war a struggle to bring about a readjustment of political power will recommence. Women will take part in it more than hitherto, because the war has taught them how much the State stands in need of their responsible

co-operation.

Above all things, we must now follow and study attentively political events and economic and social measures, for this knowledge of what is occurring in public life gives us the right and the power to express our views and present our demands. Many of our party comrades have been killed and our ranks thinned. We women must, therefore, see to it that new partisans, sincere and unbending advocates of democracy and socialism, come to us. It must be our task to strengthen and consolidate the party, for nothing but the strengthening of democracy in Germany and the permeation of our whole political life with democratic ideas will bring us a lasting peace and woman suffrage.

Résumé of the Military Operations in Europe from Aug. 15 to Sept. 15, 1915

By Lieutenant Walter E. Ives

Formerly of the Royal Prussian Thirteenth Dragoons.

URING the period of the European War covering the time from Aug. 15 to Sept. 15 the Russian theatre of operations continue to be of the same predominant importance which has characterized it ever since the beginning of May. The third week of August finds the victorious Germanic allies continuing their advance along the entire front, which they had reached at the close of our previous monthly résumé on Aug. 15.

The Austro-German armies, which were then closing in on the second Russian line of defense, extending from Brest-Litovsk to Kovno, advanced on a forming a semi-circle, stretched from Wladow over Radin-Siedlee-Malkin-Wiznita to From Ossowetz the front extended in a northerly direction toward the region east of Wilki on the lower Niemen. The Russians' resistance along this entire front, though only of the character of rear guard actions, was vigorous. Their object was to gain the time necessary to establish their main armies behind the new defensive line, an abandonment of which was at that time hardly contemplated.

The protection of the Brest-Litvosk-Bialystok-Grodno Railroad was of prime importance for the holding of the new Russian front. Consequently the Russian resistance was the fiercest in the sector where the German advance had worked closer toward the important Russian railway than at any other point—between the Narew and Bug Rivers.

About Aug. 18 the incessant Russian counterattacks seemed—at least temporarily—to have arrested the German advance in the region of Zjechanowez and Mosowezk (forty miles west of Bielsk)

and south of the Bug, in the sector west and south of Bjela; the pace of the German advance was likewise slackened. At the same time the success of Field Marshal von Mackensen's right wing army, which in the third week of August forced the Bug crossing east of Cholm, and advanced on Kovel, was one primarily against the Russian troops in Galicia, whose communication with Kiev it threatened. For the operations against the Brest-Litovsk-Kovno line, however, (due to the lack of space for development in the Pripjet region) the achievement was only of secondary importance. Only in co-operation with an advance on Brest-Litovsk from the west, but never independently, could the movement on Kovel be a menace to Russia's greatest stronghold. North of the Narew the Ossowetz-Lipsk-Kalwaria-Wilki line months given sufficient proof of its formidableness barring the approach to the Niemen.

Thus, in the beginning of the third week of August the prospects of the Russians' holding the important Brest-Litovsk-Kovno line were not altogether bad.

The aspect of the situation, however, was entirely changed when on Aug. 17 Field Marshal von Hindenburg's sudden onslaught broke through the advanced fortifications of Kovno northeast and south of Wilki, and on the 18th stormed the powerful fortress.

The suddenness of this conquest came as a complete surprise to every one. That the Russian staff had not anticipated it is evidenced by the amount of prisoners and booty taken here in contrast to other points of strategic importance like Ivangorod or Warsaw, which were depleted of all materials of

war as soon as the futility of a defense was recognized.

The unforeseen fate of Kovno, then, must be considered responsible for upsetting the entire Russian plan of defense. A German advance east of the fortress threatened to roll up the second Russian line from the north even before it was occupied by the entirety of the forces designed to hold it, and demanded categorically the abandonment of the entire front.

In consequence of the now necessary further retirement of the main armies, the Russian rear guards had to be taken back more expeditiously, were they not to lose their conjunction with the former, and their resistance grew weaker. On Aug. 26 the German troops reached the Brest-Litovsk-Grodno line in the region of Bielsk, while other parts of Field Marshal von Hindenburg's army were approaching the Niemen on a front from Simno (west of Olita) to Novo Dor, (west of Grodno.)

Threatened on both flanks, the Russian salient remaining in the Ossowitz region must be rapidly withdrawn, and the fortress which had withstood for months all attempts at taking it by assault was abandoned on Aug. 22.

The retiring movement of the Russian armies between the lower Niemen and the lower Bug was followed by the retreat of the Czar's troops defending the approach to Brest-Litovsk from the west, south, and southeast. They were hard pressed by Mackensen's pursuing armies. By Aug. 23 the later had fought their way to the sector east and southeast of Bjela; on the 25th, Austrian advance guards entered Kovel, and their cavalry began to swing northward, forcing their way through the difficult Pripjet region. The following day the Russians abandoned Brest-Litovsk. Its occupation by the Teutons was followed on the 27th by that of Bialystok and the storming of Olita.

Grodno was now the only stronghold of the second defensive line remaining in Russia's hands. Its abandonment, though, after the fall of Kovno and Brest-Litovsk, was a foregone conclusion. When the Germans entered the

fortress on Sept. 2, only a rear guard of about 5,000 men was captured, and the booty, as at Brest-Litovsk, was slight.

And so, Sept. 2 saw the entire formidable second Russian line of defense in German hands.

Of the numerous victories which had brought about this condition those of Kovel and Kovno are beyond doubt the outstanding features because of their immediate bearing on the German General Staff's next strategic aims.

To understand the logic of this deliberation is it necessary, first, to realize that with the capture of Kovel the Russian armies north and south of the Kovel-Kiev Railroad became two separate units, against which the German advance could strike separately. It is, therefore, wrong to regard the third Russian line of defense as one connected front running from Riga to Rovno. The line actually ends in the region of Luninez, (east of Pinsk,) and so the extreme left wing of the Russian northern army rests on the marshes along the northern bank of the Pripjet. The extreme right wing of the Russian southern army leans on the Kovel-Kief Railroad to the west of Sarny. The only road remaining to connect the two separated army groups between Sarny and Luninez is hemmed in closely by marshes on both sides and quite inadequate to maintain an effective communication—the capture of Kovel virtually has broken the Russian battle line in two.

Secondly, the capture of Kovno, aside from rendering the Russian second line of defense untenable, gave to the German left wing in the Baltic provinces a point of vantage greatly needed for the successful pursuance of its operations. Kovno is strategically and geographically the best suited point of vantage from which to strike the first blow at the Riga-Luninez line in the sector of Wilna, just as Kovel is an ideal base of operations from which to make the decisive thrust at Russia's armies in the south. Both are similarly fit to lend vigorous support to the German strategy, which in either instance consists of an attempt at bending back or breaking the right wing of either Russian battle line, and at rolling it up from the north. In case of success this means the cutting off of the northern armies from Petrograd and Moscow anl of the Russian troops in the south from Kief and Karkow.

Recognizing the danger threatening his northern army from the German operations in Courland, Grand Duke Nicholas had already late in July begun to push northward all available reserves for the extension and strengthening of his extreme right wing between Riga, Ponewjesh, and Kovno, and up to the middle of August, while gradually giving way on the entire front south of the lower Niemen, he succeeded in holding his line in the Baltic provinces-at times even in assuming an effective counteroffensive. While his new reinforcements thus protected the right wing of his northern army, his southern battle line seemed adequately secured in its right flank by the fortress triangle of Dubno, Luzk, and Rovno.

Toward the middle and end of August the Teutons began to shift great reinforcements toward their left wing in the Baltic provinces, to overcome those which had been sent to the same field of action by the enemy, while they continued at the same time to force their way across the Niemen north and south of Olita, in co-operation with and support of the more vigorous operations of the leftwing armies. On Sept. 3 the latter threw the Slavs back to the Duna River south of Riga and captured the bridgehead at Lennewaden. On the following day the bridgehead at Friedrichstadt was taken and the west shore of the river between both towns cleared of the Russians. Meanwhile slow but steady progress was being made east of Kovno along the Kovno-Wilna Railroad, and by Sept. 3 the advance reached the region of Kernowa and the Novo-Troki Lakes, about eighteen miles northwest and southwest of Widna.

On this line the Russians again put up a most vigorous defensive of the city. South of the Novo-Troki Lakes on a line from there to the vicinity of Orany the Germans likewise were met with fierce resistance, which, by Sept. 14, had not been entirely overcome. South of Orany, however, the German advance remained unchecked. On Sept. 9 a crossing of the Kotra River was forced and the town of Skidel taken on the 11th, while Walkowysk, the most important railroad junction between the Russian second and third line of defense, was captured as early as Sept. 8. South of the Bialystok-Slonim Railroad Prince Leopold's Bavarian troops, supported by several Austrian army corps, advanced in close co-operation with Field Marshal von Hindenburg's armies, and by Sept. 13 had forced their way to the region east and northeast of Rossany and Kossowa, while the army group of Field Marshal von Mackensen by that time had forced a crossing of the Jassjolda River between Solez and Chomsk, and was advancing on Pinsk and Luninez from the northwest and west.

In spite of this steady Teutonic progress east of the Brest-Litovsk-Olita line, the success against the third Russian line of defense by a frontal attack on its lap from Luninez to Wilna was by no means assured so long as the German left wing north of the Orany sector was held in check and its extreme end cculd not follow up its gains at Lennawaden and Friedrichstadt by either forcing the Duna River or cutting the Petrograd Railroad southwest of Dunaburg. The enormously difficult topographical conditions of the country in which the German attacks were being directed greatly favored the defenders, and awakened in them perhaps not unfounded hopes that by the time the German battle front should reach the Wilna-Luninez position, the Teutons would be in a state of exhaustion and unable to break through it.

All such hopes, however, were shattered when on Sept. 12 and 13 Field Marshal von Hindenburg with his left wing armies suddenly launched one of his characteristic drives which succeeded in smashing the strong Russian lines northwest of Wilna, and in reaching the all-important Wilna-Dunaburg Railroad northeast of the city. At the same time a second similar drive further north rolled back the Russian lines in the vicinity of Jacobstadt.

The assumption, therefore, is that, un-

less the grip which the Germans have finally gained on the main Russian bread line to Petrograd northeast of Wilna can be speedily loosened by an effective Russian counterattack from the region of Wilna, the third Russian line of defense is doomed.

The situation of the Russian southern army at the end of the second week of September is not less precarious. On Aug. 29, under the pressure of the Teutonic advance from Kovel, a co-operating sudden offensive of the Austrian armies on the Bug, (east of Brody,) the Russian front northeast and southeast of Waladimir-Wolinsk, and along the Bug and Zlota Lipa in Galicia was forced to retire to new positions on the Styr and Sereth Rivers. Continuing their advance the Austrians on Sept. 1 carried the Styr line north and south of Luzk and captured the fortress on the following morning. On Sept. 8 Dubno fell before their advance from Brody, and by Sept. 14 the Austrian battle lines converged in the neighborhood of Rovno from the northwest and southwest. Further north the region of Kolki and Derashno had then been reached, and the attacks from there were reported to make progress in the direction of Sarny.

In view of the danger to the Russian line in Galicia in case of the not improbable capture of Rovno and Sarny, it is hard to see the object of the Russians' stubborn counteroffensive which began on Sept. 6 west and southwest of Tarnopol. To hold the southern wing of their opponents in Galicia while their right wing east and northeast of Brody was being turned, and, perhaps, even to permit it to advance slightly, is exactly what the Austro-German stategy is striving to do. Unless the Russians can support their east Galician offense by successful co-operative attacks west and northwest of Rovno, and unless they feel strong enough to start a general westward movement with all their southern armies, vigorous enough to affect the strategy of the German northern armies (north of the Pripjet marshes), the Russian offensive in East Galicia can accomplish little to extricate the Czar's forces from their desperate situation, which it might easily render worse.

On the western front the only event breaking the monotony of constant artillery duels which has attracted attention during the last four weeks was another vigorous attack by the German Crown Prince in the Argonne on Sept. 8 and 9.

Since his offensive was launched northeast of Vienne le Château, due west of the Four de Paris-Varennes line, which had been pushed forward by a similar surprise attack early in August, it is evident that the Crown Prince's object was to straighten the bend of his front north of Vienne le Château and bring it on the same level with his Four de Paris-Varennes line. In this he has succeeded, taking thereby 38 officers, 2,000 men, one heavy gun, 49 machine guns, and 64 mine throwers—considerable booty in view of the conditions now prevailing on the west front.

Nevertheless the success was merely tactical. It has not tightened the grip on Verdun to an extent which would give justification to call it a strategic advantage.

All along the rest of the entire western front the deadlock continued during the preceding month.

On the Italian front the same period has likewise brought no changes of any importance. After the failure of the second big Italian offensive which, in the first part of August, as mentioned in the review in CURRENT HISTORY for September, had been directed chiefly against the upper Isonzo in the region of Tolmino, a second regrouping of the Italian armies took place. Toward the end of August, while the attacks on the Isonzo front were losing their intensity, the principal offense was shifted to the Tyrolese field of action, and the attempt made to take Rovereto through a sudden rapid advance along the northeast shore of Lake Garda. At the same time Rovereto was threatened to be cut off from Trent by a vigorous offensive through Val Sugana. Rovereto would form an excellent base of attack against Trent, and its capture would be at least an achievement of some military value for which the Italian people have been longing since their entrance into the war. In the first week of September rumors to the effect that the Austrians had abandoned Rovereto were plentiful, but were not confirmed.

In the Dardanelles the advantage of the last four weeks of fighting remains with the Turks. By Aug 20 it was established that the landing of the fresh expeditionary force in the Anafarta region by the British from which much had been hoped, had failed to make any impression on the Turkish positions, and that the Allies' enormous losses were out of all proportion with any possible achievement.

Subsequent attacks on the Turkish positions in the latter part of August were likewise unsuccessful, and in the first part of September vigorous Turkish counteroffensives near Sedd-el-Bahr, at Avi Burnu, and notably in the Anafarta sector gained territory from the Franco-British troops for whom, in view of the very limited area they are holding, loss of ground is a serious matter.

Engagements which have occurred since Aug. 15 in the Caucasian and Serbian theatres of war have had the character of skirmishes. In the former field of action fighting has centred with alternate success around Olti, near Tewa, and in the Van region. Along the Serbian front desultory artillery engagements have taken place near Orachatz and Drenutz on the Save River. Both the Caucasian and Serbian seats of war, however, will in all likelihood come into greater prominence in the near future.

The Motor Scout

By O. C. A. CHILD.

I'm off for a run in the rain tonight
On the pitch black roads where the holes are hid—
Where I've got to ride like a fiend in flight,
And the cursed old wheel is just bound to skid.

It's a chancey thing, but they're short of shell
And the guns won't wait to be fed till day,
But what is one life in this wholesale hell?
A ha'pence of change in the price we pay!

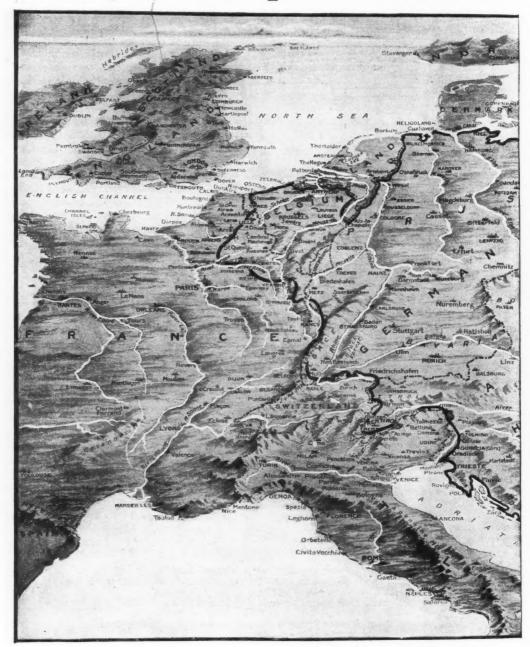
Say, that was a rut for my life, right there!
A slip is a fall at this frightful speed,
But it's make or break and no time to spare,
To look to my way, with the guns in need.

'Twas the Captain told me we hold this road! Well, I hope to Heaven the old man knew. Was that a spiked helmet the match flare showed? Then it's speed, more speed, and I'll see it through!

A shot!—and another!—the hiss of lead!
Those Germans are shooting with right good will!
And heavens above!—there's that hill ahead,
And I've got to rush it and risk a spill!

'Twas a gear that broke and my skull's broke, too!
This is the last of my midnight runs.
Ah, how I wanted to put it through!

Germanic Empires on Basis of



How the Teutonic empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary would be bounded if an armistice should be declared on the basis of foreign territory occupied and held by their military forces on Sept. 15, 1915, is indicated in the map shown above. The heavy black line bounding the hypothetical empires comprehends the battle fronts

Present Conquered Territory



east, west, north, and south. Dotted lines indicate the present political boundaries of the European countries, which with respect to Germany and Austria-Hungary run outside the heavy black line only slightly in Alsace, east of France, along the Italo-Austrian frontier, and in Galicia east of Lemberg.

Russia's Fresh Resolution

Czar Succeeds the Grand Duke Nicholas. Imperial Commander in Chief Begins a New Phase of Struggle With the Teuton Powers

Announcement was made in Petrograd on Sept. 8, 1915, that Grand Duke Nicholas had been relieved of his position as Commander in Chief of Russia's land and sea forces, and appointed Viceroy of the Caucasus and Commander in Chief of the army on the southern front. This action was taken by the Emperor on assuming himself the supreme command. The Grand Duke displaced the famous Viceroy of the Caucasus, Count von Vorontzoff-Dashkoff. In relieving the Grand Duke, the Emperor addressed a communication to him which read as follows:

AT the beginning of the war I was unavoidably prevented from following the inclination of my soul to put myself at the head of the army. That was why I intrusted you with the Commandership in Chief of all the land and sea forces.

Under the eyes of all Russia your Imperial Highness has given proof during the war of a steadfast bravery which has caused a feeling of profound confidence and called forth the sincere wishes of all who followed your operations through the inevitable vicissitudes of war.

My duty to my country, which has been intrusted to me by God, impels me today, when the enemy has penetrated into the interior of the empire, to take supreme command of the active forces and to share with the army the fatigue of war and to safeguard with it Russian soil from attempts of the enemy. The ways of Providence are inscrutable, but my duty and my desire determine me in my resolution for the good of the State.

The invasion of the enemy on the western front, which necessitates the greatest possible concentration of civil and military authorities as well as the unification of command in the field, has turned our attention from the southern front. At this moment I recognize the necessity of your assistance and counsels on the southern front, and I appoint you Viceroy of the Caucasus and Commander in Chief of the valiant Caucasian army.

I express to your Imperial Highness my profound gratitude and that of the country for your labors during the war.

The change in supreme command of the army came as a surprise to the general public, although it had been rumored for several days in army circles.

The Novoe Vremya interpreted the new military régime in Russia as follows:

Our insolent foe has now received a worthy answer to his projects. The Russian Emperor has placed himself at the head of the military forces, and hopes of the Germans for peace are turned to dust and ashes.

For more than a year the chief command of our army has been vested in Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaievitch, whose name will forever remain graven in the heart of every Russian soldier.

The text of an order of the day issued by Grand Duke Nicholas transferring command of the Russian armies to the Emperor was forwarded by the Petrograd correspondent of the Havas News Agency, as follows:

Valiant Army and Fleet: Today your August Supreme Chief, his Majesty the Emperor, places himself at your head. I bow before our heroism of more than a year, and express to you my cordial, warm, and sincere appreciation.

I believe steadfastly that because the Emperor himself, to whom you have taken your oath, conducts you, you will display achievements hitherto unknown. I believe that God from this day will accord to His elect His all-powerful aid, and will bring to him victory.

(Signed)

NICHOLAS,

General Aide de Camp.

In a message to President Poincaré, dated Sept. 6, 1915, Emperor Nicholas announced that he had placed himself in command of all the Russian armies. It follows:

In placing myself today* at the head of my valiant armies, I have in my heart, Monsieur President, the most sincere wishes for the greatness of France and the victory of her glorious army.

NICHOLAS.

President Poincaré sent the following response:

I know that your Majesty, in taking command of your heroic armies, intends to continue energetically until final victory the war which has been imposed upon the allied nations. I address to your Majesty in the name of France my most cordial wishes.

RAYMOND POINCARE.

Away down on the list stands the name of the Czar's second cousin, the Grand Duke Nicholas Michailvitch, and the designation:

"Aide de Camp to his Majesty the Emperor and Commander in Chief of the Field Army, during the war of 1914-."

The Grand Duke Nicholas has received no censure from military critics, either of the Allies or neutral nations, although those of the latter have deplored the Russian lack of preparation in trained men and munitions—subjects with which the Grand Duke as "Commander in Chief of the Field Army" had nothing to do. His business has been to win victories, or, when these were impossible, to extricate his forces with the minimum loss. His successful retreats have caused English, French, and American experts to designate him a genius in that department of strategy—his tactics had to depend upon the material furnished him.

From the beginning of the war, however, there has been dissatisfaction among the lower classes of Russia that the "Little Father" was not leading his armies in person. It is a tradition among the Russian people that he should do so. and this tradition does not take into account the Czar's status as a military man. His Majesty's father, Alexander III., although a pacifist always intimated his readiness to lead his armies should the occasion arise. His uncle, Alexander II., for a time personally conducted the Russian arms in the Balkans in 1876-7, and his grandfather, Nicholas I., received his military training at the hands of von Lambsdorff, and commanded personally the Russian troops on several Napoleonic battlefields. And it was Nicholas I.'s elder brother, Alexander I., who planned and personally conducted the famous retreat of 1812 which brought disaster to Napoleon.

Presiding on Sept. 4, 1915, at the first meeting in Petrograd of a special conference having for its object the discussion of measures to be taken for national defense, the Emperor declared that Russia would continue the war until complete victory had been achieved. He said:

The question before the conference is of the gravest importance. It concerns the more speedy equipment of the army with munitions, which is the one object for which our valiant troops wait in order to stop foreign invasion and bring success once more to our arms. Parliament has given me, resolutely and without the least hesitation, the only reply worthy of Russia—a reply which I expected from it, namely, war until victory is complete.

I doubt not that this is the voice of the

*Czar Nicholas's message announcing that his Majesty has placed himself at "the head of my valiant armies" is likely to have less effect on the active General Staffs of the various nations engaged than it will on the executive part of Russia's military establishment and the people at large. With the Czar's known lack of military training, persons who know Russian bureaucracy and the mind of the people say that it can be nothing more than a political and sentimental expediency, which, however, is likely to be productive of practical results.

Like the Executive head of any State, the Czar is not only nominally but actually the head of the forces of the empire. His title is "Head of the Army, his Majesty the Emperor." Then follow the Princes and nobles of the realm who go to make up the Czar's military household, many of whom have, in addition, commands in the field, but few of whose names have appeared in the records of the present campaign.

whole Russian nation. Nevertheless, the great resolution we have taken implies the greatest intensity of effort on our part. This thought has become universal, but it is necessary to put it into action without delay, and it is the precise way in which this is to be done that should occupy our conferences.

This conference has brought together in the common work of solidarity the Government, delegates of Parliament, and delegates from public institutions and our industries; in a word, the representatives of all business in Russia have intrusted you with complete confidence, with powers of an exceptional extent. I shall always follow with the most profound attention your labors, and will take a personal part in them if necessary.

We have a great task before us; we shall concentrate upon it all the human effort of the country. Let us leave aside for the moment every other preoccupation, however grave; and even if it should concern the State, so long as it does not essentially affect the present time, nothing must distract our thoughts, our will, and our strength from what is now our single goal, which is to drive the enemy from our borders.

With this end in view, we must make certain of the complete military equipment of our active army and other troops called to the colors. This task is now intrusted to you, gentlemen. I know that you will devote all your strength and all your love for the Fatherland to its accomplishment. Set to work with the help of God.

Russia's New Counteroffensive

Almost simultaneously with the announcement that the Emperor had personally displaced Grand Duke Nicholas as Commander of the Russian forces and transferred him to the Caucasus, the fighting along the eastern frontier, despite the beginning of the Autumn rains, was resumed with the intensity which characterized it throughout the Summer. The new fighting started with a Russian victory. The official report from Petrograd on Sept. 8, 1915, said:

I N Galicia, near Tarnopol, yesterday we achieved a great success against the Germans. The German Third Guard Division and the Forty-eighth Reserve Division, reinforced by an Austrian brigade, with great quantities of heavy and light artillery, according to statements made by prisoners, had been preparing for several days for a decisive attack. This was fixed for the night of Tuesday-Wednesday. Forestalling the enemy our troops took the offensive, and, after a stubborn fight on the Roljonka, the Germans were completely defeated on Tuesday evening.

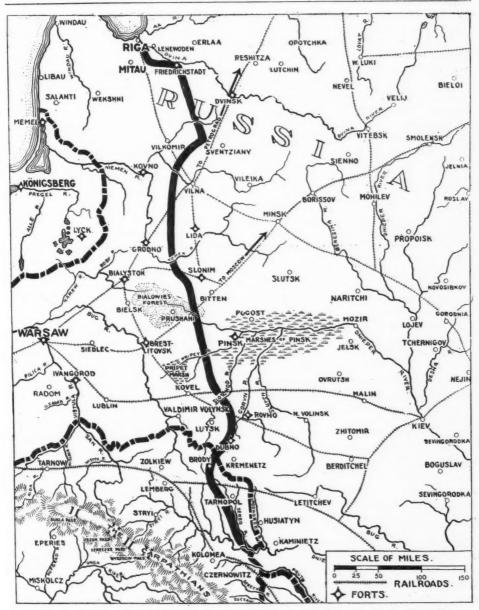
At the end of the engagement the enemy developed an artillery fire of most extraordinary intensity. Only

the impossibility of replying with the same weight of metal prevented us from further developing the success we had obtained. The Germans, besides suffering enormous losses in killed and wounded, left as prisoners in our hands more than 200 officers and 8,000 men. We captured thirty guns, fourteen of which were of heavy calibre; many machine guns, gun limbers, and other booty.

After a brief pursuit our troops occupied their former positions on the River Sereth. The Emperor, having received a report of the defeat inflicted upon the enemy, sent an order to express to his valorous troops his joy and thankfulness for their success and the heavy losses inflicted on the enemy.

The German official reports contradicted this account of a great Russian success near Tarnopol and Trembowia, but on Sept. 13 the following dispatch to the Exchange Telegraph Company from Amsterdam said:

Emperor William has dismissed General von Kluege, Commander of the Eighth Division, who was held responsible for the Austro-German check by the Russians on the Sereth River in East



Germanic war area in the East, showing the battle line on Sept. 15, 1915.

Galicia. General Kluege, according to the German newspapers, retired from the service at his own request and with a pension.

The Petrograd official statement of Sept. 13 reiterated the earlier report, as follows:

The Austrians and Germans have been

dashing from one side to the other in an effort to strike a decisive blow. The German official statement of Sept. 9 contradicts the statement made in our communication of Sept. 8 that we made numerous prisoners and captured thirty guns and machine guns.

. The Great General Staff considers it

its duty to explain that it always has endeavored within the limits of human power and the rules of military art to present each event in its reality, avoiding any trace of partiality. Mistakes always are possible in conditions of excitement, and occasionally of uncertainty, which accompany military action. Therefore, desiring to establish with certainty our great success near Tarnopol and Trembowia, which already is proved by the action of our troops, the Great General Staff postpones its definite reply regarding the trophies taken until it has received precise reports from the corps engaged.

The report of one of the armies engaged on the 8th says that of the guns captured from the enemy we already have succeeded in taking within our lines six ten-centimeter guns and six fifteencentimeter guns. The clearness of this document alone makes it impossible to doubt our success.

Reports from the Commander in Chief on the corresponding front, dated Sept. 7, state that this stroke was planned beforehand by the army commander concerned as the result of information supplied by scouts. This, therefore, refutes the charge that we made a false report regarding the most important event which has occurred recently in the ranks of the Russian Army.

While the German drive toward Dvinsk goes forward unchecked, according to the Berlin official statement issued on Sept. 14, and Field Marshal von Hindenburg's army had taken 5,200 prisoners in the encounters of the past twenty-four hours and forged ahead to within about thirty miles of the Dvinsk fortress, the Russians had not only continued their successes in Galicia, where they were pressing the Austrians back, but had assumed the offensive in South Russia. The communication issued by the War Office at Petrograd on Sept. 14 said:

The German pressure in the regions of Lake Pikstern and Sanken and the village of Rakiszki, west of the line of Jacobstadt-Dvinsk, continues.

In the region of the railway station at Podbrodze repeated enemy attacks have been repulsed. West of Podbrodze German attacks in the region of Mischogola are characterized by great intensity.

On the front from the region of Orany to the region of the village of Kossovo the enemy continues his prudent advance in an easterly direction.

More serious engagements have occurred in the region of the villages of Mosty and Czernica, west of Slonim. South of the River Pina the enemy's cavalry fell back to the region at the confluence of the Rivers Touria and Pripjet. Near Zwizdje, in the region of Derajno, we have successfully crossed the Goryn River and made progress fighting, capturing an entire Austrian battalion. In the regions of Derajno and Klevan the enemy assumed the offensive, which we checked. By an energetic counterattack we then advanced to the region west of Klevan, where in fights near the village of Oaeszwa we took over 1,300 prisoners.

Yesterday the Russians in the region west of Wysznewec repulsed the enemy from Rydomel and the adjacent neighborhood. The enemy, hurriedly retreating here, sustained great losses and was driven out of Ostoka Village. Up to the present the number of prisoners counted is 20 officers and 2,000 men.

Our fire checked attempts of the enemy, who in order to arrest our offensive made a counterattack in the region of the Villages of Gontow and Dykowec, southwest of Wsyzenewec. We captured here also about 140 officers and 7,500 men, one heavy and six light guns, four caissons, twenty-six machine guns, and much booty.

In Galicia we are pursuing the retreating enemy in a westerly direction from the front of the Sereth River. Violent engagements have occurred in the regions of the Villages of Gliadka, Cedrow, and Juzephowka, west of Tarnopol, and also near the Village of Dzwiniacz, in the region of Zalescziki.

In engagements in the region of Juzephowka and Dzwiniacz in the course of Sunday we captured over 2,700 soldiers and 35 officers and four machine guns.

From Aug. 30 to Sept. 12 the number of Austro-German prisoners taken by us has exceeded 40,000.

Russia's Fortresses Fallen

German Official Accounts of the Victorious Drive Beyond Warsaw

THE CAPTURE OF KOVNO

The following from the German Great Headquarters appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Aug. 23, 1915:

INCE the 17th of August the main defensive work of the Niemen line, Kovno, a fortress of the first rank, is in our hands. As early as July the extensive forests lying to the west of the fortress were cleared of the enemy, and opportunities thus created for the construction of effective roads of approach and for the necessary work of acquiring information.

On the 6th of August began the attack on the fortress. After bold advances by the infantry had gained observation stations for the artillery and the installation of the guns, a very difficult matter in the pathless forest country, had succeeded, we were able, on the 8th of August, to open fire with the artillery. While this was taking the advanced positions and also the permanent works of the fortress under an overwhelming fire, infantry and pioneers worked their way forward irresistibly in hotly contested battles lasting night and day. No less than eight advanced works had been taken by storm by the 15th of August. Each of these was a fortress in itself, constructed in months of work with the employment of every means at the disposal of the art of engineering and with an immense expenditure in money and human labor. Exceedingly strong counterattacks of the Russians against the front and the south flank of the attacking troops were repeatedly repelled, with heavy losses to the enemy.

On the 16th of August the attack was carried forward close to the line of permanent fortifications. By artillery fire raised to the highest degree of intensity, and brilliantly directed with the help of observations from balloons and

aeroplanes, the defenders of the forts, of the connecting lines and intermediate batteries, were so shaken and the works themselves damaged to such an extent that the assault could be initiated. Pressing forward irresistibly the infantry first broke through Fort 2 and then swinging toward its throat [connection to the rear] and rolling up the front stormed in both directions the entire line of forts between the Jezia and the Niemen.

Our artillery, which had been quickly brought up, now undertook at once the reduction of the main defenses of the west front and after their fall, on the 17th of August, attacked the enemy's forces retreating on the east bank of the Niemen. Under the protection of the artillery brought close to the Niemen the river was crossed under the hostile fire, at first by several small detachments and then by stronger forces. Soon, thereafter, we succeeded in getting across two bridges to replace those destroyed by the enemy. In the course of the 17th of August fell the forts of the north front, which had already been attacked from the north, also the eastern, and finally the entire southern front.

In addition to more than 20,000 prisoners, we captured an incalculable amount of booty, more than 600 guns, including a large number of the heaviest calibre and most modern construction; great masses of ammunition, numberless machine guns, searchlights, war material of all sorts, automobiles, automobile tires, and provisions running into the millions in value. Because of the great extent of this modern fortress, the complete accounting of the booty naturally is the work of many days; it is growing from hour to hour. Hundreds of Russian recruits were picked up in the city after it was vacated by the enemy. According to their reports, some 15,000 weaponless reserve troops had escaped from the city at the last moment in hasty flight.

In addititon to the desperate counterattacks of the Russians, which again set in from the south after the fall of the fortress, and were, as before, without result, the conditions are evidence of the fact that the Russian command had considered the quick fall of this strongest of the Russian fortsesses outside the realm of the possible. What high value the Russians put on the possession of this fortress is proved, in addition to the fact of its very strong construction and its extraordinarily heavy equipment with artillery, by this, that the resistance of that part of the garrison which was not shut in was continued to the very last moment and that a number of prisoners, relatively very great under these circumstances, fell into our hands.

CROSSING THE VISTULA

From the German Great-Headquarters the Frankfurter Zeitung published the following on Aug. 24:

In their retreat in the second half of July from Western Poland the Russians found a strong shelter in the Fortresses Ivangorod and Warsaw, and in the Vistula line connecting them. A halt was for the time being given to the German troops pressing on behind them. It was necessary that this halt should not last long, in order to take from the enemy the possibility of transferring the masses of his troops, which had retired behind the Vistula to another point against one of our army groups on the wings.

An attack on Ivangorod could not bring a swift success in this sense, for the special distinction of this fortress was just this, that its defender could get along with small forces. The command of the army, therefore, decided upon forcing the Vistula crossing to the north of Ivangorod, in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Radomka. For the execution of this project the German troops of the army group of General von Woyrsch were selected. These had been standing opposite Ivangorod. They, therefore, had to be moved considerably toward the north. Such a

transfer to one side of large bodies of troops makes high demands on all divisions of the command. The march to the left in this case was particularly difficult, because it had to be accomplished quickly, and the crossing of the stream had to follow at once, since otherwise surprise of the enemy could not be counted upon. Surprise was the essential thing. In it lay the hope of success.

All precautions that could be thought of for keeping the move secret were taken. All the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the crossings had to leave their villages, of which, as a matter of fact, the Russians had not left very much behind. The greater part had been sacrificed to systematic burning. Careful search was made for hidden telephone connections of the enemy, without any results however, so that the leaders were never without anxiety that the Russians would in spite of all get knowledge of the enterprise.

The Army Command Woyrsch had provided General of Cavalry Baron von König, leader of the Landwehr Corps, with instructions, had turned over to him the execution of the operation of crossing and provided him with the necessary means, especially numerous bridge-building outfits, including some from our allies. These did excellent work under the leadership of Colonel of Pioneers Mischek, of the Austro-Hungarian Army.

On the evening of July 28th preparations were complete, namely, acquisition of knowledge of the approaches for pontoons for the ten places selected for crossing, (chosen in several groups at considerable distances one from the other, so that if the crossing did not succeed at one place it would be carried out at another,) and placing in readiness of the infantry and artillery, so that these could quickly reach their crossing points without interfering with one another's lines of approach. Conferences had been held at the headquarters of the leader, of the higher pioneer and artillery officers, and everything was arranged down to the smallest de-

On the 29th of July at 1:30 A. M. the troops were to reach the shore of the Vistula at all points in order at once to be able to begin the crossing. Vistula in this region has an average breadth of 1,000 metres. Numerous sand banks lie in it, so that there was danger of the pontoons running aground. What were the positions of the enemy behind the river, in what strength he stood and how his forces were divided, was quite unknown to us. It was necessary to strike into the dark. It will be easy, therefore, to appreciate the tension of the situation. In the case of a battle under ordinary circumstances the strain is developed gradually in correspondence to the slowly nearing decision. In crossing a river the action begins with the very highest tension. A bare half hour must bring the decision. It is a "to be or not to be." Either the opposite shore is attained and held or the troops in crossing receive such a fire that they cannot get over, or-and this is worse—the enemy, being in too great strength throws such of the troops as have crossed first, and naturally are only in small force, back into the river, which is equivalent to annihila-This easily conprehensible tension was still further increased by the darkness of the night and the absence of any of the noise of battle, the absolute silence, which preceded the move.

At 1:30 A. M. the troops everywhere break out from their last lines of cover on the shore. With the exertion of all available strength the heavy pontoons are quickly brought forward. Now the water is reached. Now they push off. Still everything is quiet, a good sign—1:45. Suddenly heavy artillery fire sets in. At one point then the enemy's attention has been attracted. At his first shots our artillery, standing in readiness, has taken up the fire against the hostile shore, thereby giving effective fire protection to the infantry which is still engaged in crossing.

Finally the tension relaxes. The first report comes in. Now the pontoons re-

turn; the first organizations are across. Everybody breathes more lightly. Now we are across. And where the Army Group Woyrsch has once taken footing it holds on! Now we are across. This thought returns again and again, grows stronger with every new report that another battalion has crossed. It has grown light. Our artillery now speaks decisively in the fight which is to break the last resistance of the surprised enemy.

The first 200 prisoners are reported. All goes well. But an unexpectedly heavy fight still lies before us. We did indeed surprise the enemy's protecting troops close to the shore. But it still remains to defeat the reserves further to the rear. How dangerous the enemy considers our breaking through his river barrier which he had considered impregnable was soon recognized. From Ivangorod, Warsaw. and Lublin he gathered more and more troops in order to throw us back. Superior in numbers though the enemy was, he nevertheless had to be attacked, for the bridgehead had to be extended so that the points where we began the building of bridges would be safe against the hostile fire.

After battles lasting for days the possession of the bridgehead is fully assured, the enemy thrown back from position to position, his power of attack broken!

In the meantime the Austro-Hungarian troops of this army standing under the command of General of Infantry von Koevess had won a great success before Ivangorod. They had broken through this strongly constructed and obstinately defended fortress position and taken from the enemy fleeing to the eastern shore 2,300 prisoners and thirty-two guns.

But the greatest satisfaction fell to the troops of this army when it became known that the day following the Vistula crossing the Russians had begun the gradual evacuation of Ivangorod and were about to give up the Blonie line protecting Warsaw and the Lublin position. Thus the conquest of the Vistula exercised a great influence on distant sections of the front.

German Praise of Russian Fighting

The subjoined article appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Aug. 15, 1915, as written by that newspaper's correspondent on the eastern front, Dr. Fritz Wertheimer, and was headed "Fighting in the Swamp Lands (on the Swinka) between the Wieprz and the Bug."

THE Russians give ground while resisting strongly. The pressure from the north, west, and south exerted on the masses of their troops still standing before the Bug, and which is gradually forcing them into a narrower space, has certain advantages for them, such as better opportunities for the bringing up of reserves and heavier employment of artillery. Thus, the Siberian Army Corps, which suffered the Wieprz fearful losses before through the destructive fire of our artillery, would now be relieved by fresh troops, and we observed artillery with the Russians in such masses and with such a wealth of ammunition as we had not experienced since the beginning of the Russian campaign. For the space occupied by a single one of our divisions nine heavy and two light batteries were employed, which never seemed to be lacking in ammunition, and since the Russians are continually being thrown further back, and thus get nearer to their sources of supply, this relative advantage is all the time becoming more effective.

Moreover, they know this difficult country and the few existing roads extremely well. They understand splendidly how to arrange small ambushes, letting a company work itself forward in the swamp grass of the forest in order to take it in the flank, or to attempt to surround it. Their machine guns are very skillfully placed and intentionally keep silence in order to work the more surprisingly and effectively in the twilight or at night, when the German attack takes place. Their trenches are constructed in many rows, one behind the other, at every point where there is a spot of dry ground. They have no single unified and closed front line, but have divided their forces upon several independent points of support. makes it necessary for us in attacking to advance with a considerable division of our forces and in many directions. Naturally this considerably increases the difficulty of attaining the aim of our leaders to keep their troops as much as possible acting as a unified whole.

At every moment the formation of the battle changes, here suddenly appears a dangerous gap which must be filled up, over there care must be had that the artillery does not put its own troops under fire. And when after heavy exertions the troop believes, in the evening, that it has got to the point where it can dig itself in, hostile attacks against the adjoining regiment, or the next division may make new shifts necessary, with difficult night marches through the swamps, or even new attacks to forestall those of the enemy. All this takes place under the hail of hostile shrapnel. Then suddenly the Russian frees himself from the enemy. In the meantime he has taken back his artillery as far as he can, and has occupied new advantageous positions, has drawn his ditches across roads and paths, has felled trees, so that in falling they lie crosswise and block the way, and has covered his retreat with a lively fire by his rear guards.

After some three or four kilometers, he again makes a halt. A hill, the course of a river, appear favorable to his defense, have perhaps been selected already beforehand and prepared. These are now occupied and consolidated. Carefully our patrols push forward and feel for the enemy. Again it takes a day or two till we have worked our way up and can seize the Russian.

Continually small attacks occur in which the enemy, because of his exact knowledge of the ground, which he has but just occupied, has a considerable advantage. His sharpshooters sit in high trees, before his trenches is the water of the swamps. Small streams, insignificant in themselves, such as the Mogilnica and the Swinka, thus become strong obstacles and cost blood and time.

The following by Dr. Wertheimer appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Aug. 20, 1915, discussing operations between Wieprz and Bug on Aug. 9:

The fighting in these days is all alike in respect to the obstinate resistance of the Russians. * * * The Russian artillery has guns enough, of heavy calibre too, and uses them liberally against our infantry, but always at such a safe distance that our heavy artillery never can reach them. The Russian always takes his artillery back in time so that he may not lose any of his valuable material. His infantry does excellent work in the preparation of defensive works which may already be in existence, and in the quick development of new ones. While there may be gaps between them, yet small knolls and hills or strips of forest are strongly arranged as flanking positions, so that even here progress is difficult.

The Russians hold out well in their positions in spite of our artillery fire; and even when they have vacated a trench during our artillery preparations, they have come back when the infantry attack began and defended themselves desperately. Thus it is always two or three days before our tireless troops succeed in taking the advance positions and work their way in for the last assault. The Russian then frequently does not await the storm, removes his material during the night and withdraws several kilometers to the rear where he takes up positions prepared in the meantime. In this kind of retreat, our opponent has gradually acquired very considerable skill. In accomplishing it, he always suffers very sanguinary losses through our well directed artillery fire; but what are men to him? Although he loses ground it is but slowly, so that it never becomes a catastrophe for him. The booty which he is compelled to leave to the enemy is on the whole, small. Of course, his own equipment is no longer so abundant as of old. Even in positions taken by storm, there is not so much infantry ammunition lying about as formerly.

Russian Praise of German Methods

The following appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Aug. 17, 1915, giving a Russian view of German methods on the advance through Courland:

It is one of the most entertaining phenomena of these dark war times that in hostile countries they charge us with a lack of originality and then straightway know of nothing better to do than to copy from us from A to Z. Thus there appeared a few days ago a long article in the great Russian liberal paper, Russkae Slovo, concerning "German Methods of Modern War," which once again would urge the Russians to imitation, and which is of great interest to us because it pictures most clearly all that detail work during our advance in Courland, which is easily underestimated but to which we are doubtless greatly indebted for our successes. We quote here some of the important passages:

"In more than one respect," says the Russian paper, "the battles of the German offensive against Schavli afford a complete treatise on the art of making war. They teach us the latest war novelties of Germany. According to their custom, the Germans rush precipitately forward, and hardly have they occupied a new position when they fortify it in such a fashion that the forces necessary for the defense of what they have won can be reduced to the minimum. The trenches of the Germans are kept in remarkably good order and relatively almost empty; every thirty or forty yards you find a machine gun. But behind the trenches circulate the movable stores of ammunition, so that ammunition may be dealt out quickly there where it is needed. This is always quickly at hand, and storing it up, with all attendant confusion is avoided. Never by any means any superfluous thing in the trench, but rather space, light air, clean-liness!"

"Not a man would dare eat his 'iron ration,' without being well justified in doing so. In January we took German prisoners in East Prussia, who for days had not eaten, but the iron ration was still untouched. In this one can see the discipline of these Germans. At Libau the Germans used gigantic automobile trucks in which liquid cement was brought up with which the trenches were strengthened and made proof against shells. These power trucks too had an-They were equipped with other use. great water tight containers which enabled the German soldier to have his weekly, or even daily bath. The trying conditions of modern warfare favor the development of all sorts of infective diseases. In order to combat these, the Germans aim at the most particular sort of cleanliness. Behind the trenches one finds notices posted up everywhere in which the soldiers are threatened with heavy penalties, should they after a day of rest, come again to the front wearing a dirty shirt.

"Even in the trenches basins of concrete are built which are filled with water for the soldiers' daily to bathe, wash and be massaged. This has become so much of a habit with them that when we take German prisoners, their first request is always for a bath. These Germans keep their trenches as clean as they do their bodies. And then, too, we find in every German trench a broad board, which serves as a table. With us nobody ever had the idea. Our soldiers eat their food on their knees, throw the breadcrumbs and bones on the ground and even what remains uneaten of their food when their hunger is satisfied. Thus our trenches are rapidly converted into great refuse pits. With these Germans it is quite different.

"Again, they strive to have as few soldiers as possible in a trench; they don't want their soldiers to be exposed to fire

needlessly. But they have telephone stands everywhere. At the slightest alarm the telephone goes into action, the German trenches being simply covered with a network of telephone wires. All commands are transferred by telephone, which means a great saving in officers, as none are required for the transmission of orders.

"So as not to lose any cannon, these Germans, again, make use of powerful motor trucks. Our officers were at first astonished; they would capture a German trench or German position, and would find there only a few German soldiers and no cannon, no machine guns, and no ammunition at all. What had become of it? It was only later that we learned that the Germans have heavily armored motor cars, which during the battle are stuffed full of ammunition; but at the slightest danger for the cannon-especially the heavy ones-these are hitched with chains to the automobiles and drawn away, so that we are left to look on. The fewer the number of German soldiers on the firing line the greater the number of cannon and machine guns. 'Thick rows of machine guns, light rows of soldiers,' that is their motto.

"They forbid the German soldiers to write letters before they have been completely rested. When their nerves are quite relieved from the strain, letter paper is distributed, with the warning, 'Pull yourselves together, don't cause your parents and brothers and sisters anxiety with your letters.' In short, with these Germans everything is provided for and everything foreseen, from the bread crust which must not be thrown away to the sheet of letter paper, which is handed out only at the right time. In fact, this is a war which the German has entered with all his soul, and at the same time with all his brains."

Thus the Russkoe Slovo. These dissertations can be condensed into the statement that our warfare represents the victory of quality over quantity.

Battles of the German Crown Prince

Great Headquarters Eyewitness Reports of the Campaign in the Argonne

In the western theatre of war the spectacular drives of the forces led by Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm in the Argonne region, with Verdun as their objective, have been the chief feature of operations while the campaign in the east was at its height. As noted in the résumé of military operations for the month ended Sept. 15, appearing elsewhere in this number, the Crown Prince's efforts have thus far not achieved the great result attempted. On Sept. 9 the second important effort within three months to break the French lines in this region resulted in a temporary gain with the capture of 2,000 prisoners and some artillery. German Great Headquarters "Eyewitness" reports indicating that this campaign is regarded as of high importance have been appearing in the German press; the subjoined accounts are translated from the Frankfurter Zeitung and the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.

THE ASSAULT ON LA FILLE MORTE

The Wolff Telegraphic Bureau received the following from the German Great Headquarters, published Aug. 4, 1915, in the Frankfurter Zeitung:

HAT part of the Argonne lying to the north and east of the Biesme is a long ridge running from northwest to southeast, falling in precipitous, much-cleft ravines to the valleys of the Aire and the Biesme. The course of the Roman Road approximately designates the line of the Biesme. The course of the Roman road approximately designates the line of the crest. The road reaches the highest point of the ridge on Height 285. Offshoots of the range, one running toward the northeast, Height 263, the other to the west, La Fille Morte, roughly parallel to the road from Varennes to le Four de Paris, divide this part of the Argonnes like a natural wall into a northern and a southern half. Height 285, which is but sparsely wooded and is free from shrubbery, affords a point of observation from which a wide outlook can be obtained over the Argonnes and beyond, toward the east to the heights north of Varennes, toward the west on the hilly land of the eastern Champagne.

Because of its dominating situation, the possession of the range of Heights 263, 285, La Fille Morte, is of high military importance for the troops fighting in the Argonne. When in the last days of September the Germans pushed from the east into the Argonne's isolated patrols and small infantry detachments succeeded temporarily in occupying Height 285. On the evening of the 29th of September they had to retire in a northerly direction before greatly superior French forces. Since that time the French had been in possession of this range. Their positions had been pushed beyond it to the north about one kilometer. In embittered, hotly contested struggles the German troops early in January and in the middle of February threw the enemy back along the whole front, from the Bolante to Height 263, for several hundred meters.

While over in the West Argonnes the French in our victorious battles from the 20th of June to the 2d of July were thrown out of their fortified positions Labordère, Central, Cimetière, Bagatelle, and forced back down upon the slopes descending into the valley of the Biesme, the German troops in the East Argonnes were preparing themselves for the attack on the dominating elevated positions 285 and La Fille Morte. Once this object was attained, the Germans would stand on the whole Argonnes front, from the region north of Vienne le Château to Bourenilles, in positions of superior advantage, like an iron wall against which every attempted attack of the French would necessarily shatter itself.

The French positions to the northeast, north, and northwest of Height 285, on the Riegel, the Bolante, and the promontory projecting into the Vallée des Cour-

tes Chausses, throughout lay forty to fifty and in some places only twenty paces from the German positions. In view of the fact that along this whole front the land slopes in general from south to north—from Height 285 toward the northeast into the Osson valley, from La Fille Morte into the Meurisson hollow, further to the west into a side valley of the Courtes Chausses—the French had the advantage of better opportunity for observation and consequently a better field for shooting at our positions and connections toward the rear.

In the valleys of the Osson, the Cheppe, the Meurisson, the Vallée des Courtes Chausses and on the mountain slopes falling into these ravines, the low forest is filled with a thick undergrowth of bushes and briars. On the heights the forest grows lighter, and the ground is covered with ferns and high grass; here, moreover, as in the Bois de la Grurie, (West Argonnes,) everything that grew had been swept away by the infantry and artillery fire during the long months of fighting.

The French positions on these heights consisted of several rows of trenches, one behind the other, cut to the depths of two or three meters into the ground. These were connected by a many-meshed net of connecting trenches with one another and with the reserve positions lying on Height 285 and La Fille Morte. The trenches of the fighting positions were braced with strong beams, strengthened with walls of wire netting and cement, and provided in many places with covering one to two meters thick and broken up at intervals of every five to six paces by strong buttresses for protection against enfilading fire. Dozens of blockhouses, with several stands for machine guns, side by side and over one another, served as supports for the forward and rear positions and the intervening ground. As shelters for the men manning the forward trenches and for the reserves roomy caves had been excavated. In front of the foremost firing positions, between the lines of trenches further back and especially in the ravines and branching gulleys covered with almost impenetrably thick underwoods, broad wire obstructions had been provided, consisting of stretched barbed wire, Spanish riders, and barbed wire covered rolls.

Of all this skillfully constructed labyrinth of defenses nothing was to be seen from the German positions except a light yellow strip of excavated clay, here and there the beam of a blockhouse or a piece of bright barbed wire. Far toward the rear there stood scattered through the whole forest the French heavy and light batteries, and somewhat nearer the mine-throwers, bronze mortars, and revolver cannon.

The 13th of July was selected as the time for the attack on these positions. Shortly after daybreak the artillery and mine fire was to begin, for 8 A. M. was set the attack on the projecting part of the French defenses before our left wing, and for 11:30 A. M. the assault along the front as a whole.

From reports of prisoners obtained later and from French orders which we found, it appeared that the enemy had for some time for his part planned a great attack in the Eastern Argonnes, which, originally ordered for the 11th of July, had afterward been postponed to the 14th, the date of the French national holiday. On this day all the troops of the French Fifth and Thirty-second Army Corps—making with added units more than eight divisions—were to attack along the whole Argonnes front and connecting sectors outside. In the Bois de la Grurie, and to the west of the Argonnes, this attack was actually carried out on the 14th and failed with heavy losses. In the meantime things came to pass in the East Argonnes quite differently than had been expected by the French.

Because of the fact that the French themselves were planning an effort and that—warned by the increased activity of the German artillery and by other signs of an impending attack—they were not at all surprised by our assault, our troops found the enemy exceedingly well prepared. The French fighting positions were strongly manned, the artillery was supplied with an extraordinarily large amount of ammunition, and all the means



Scene of the German Crown Prince's Drive in the Argonne, and Westward to Rheims

for fighting at close range were in readiness in the greatest abundance.

BATTLES OF JULY 13 AND 14.

This account from the German Great Headquarters appeared in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of Aug. 6, 1915:

The 13th of July dawns. On the preceding evening and during the night the last preparations have been made in the German trenches. Every man knows exactly the task assigned him. At the thought of the impending assault hearts beat faster, tense and excited are the men with the joyous anticipation of battle. What will the next twelve hours bring? Death, perhaps, to many a dear comrade, but surely for all the victory. It cannot be otherwise; ever till now, where the German fists have struck, the enemy has been compelled to yield the field, no matter how bravely he defended himself, and however much blood had to flow. Thus it was in the Autumn, and in January and February. Last evening the Captain had asked for volunteers for the first line of the charge. Every man declared his readiness. But so many the Captain could not use; lots had to be drawn. Yes, you at home there, if you were here you would have reason to be proud of your boys.

The dawn is coming on. It will be a cool and cloudy morning. It has not grown very light yet, when shrieking and howling there comes from far to the rear from a German battery the first heavy shell, strikes in the enemy's position, bursts with a thundering crash, and showers everything with a hail of broken metal, lumps of earth, and stones. Now things begin to happen. In the minutes that follow one might well think that all hell had opened. From all sides comes a humming and roaring and whistling and shrieking, hurling death and destruction into the hostile positions, which very soon are wrapped in a cloud of dust and vapor. Moved by curiosity, our fellows stick their heads over the breastworks and note the good effects of the artillery fire. But this amusement of playing spectators doesn't last very long, for very soon the French batteries and mine throwers also open their fire, which from hour to hour is increased to the most raging intensity. Enduring this for hours without action in the murderous hail of shells is much worse and more disintegrating than any assault.

At 8 A. M., about in the middle of the left wing, between points 263 and 285, the Fifth Silesian Chasseurs and an infantry battalion from Metz break out for the storm against the advanced French point of support. In seven minutes the first three trenches have been overrun, and the enemy at this place is surrounded on both sides so that he cannot flank from here the main attack later on.

In the meantime, along the whole front the artillery and mine fire achieves its highest point of intensity. In the course of the forenoon many trenches, both on the side of the enemy and on that of the Germans are simply leveled. At one point a mine strikes in a French collection of hand grenades, which blows up with a terrible crash. The next day there were found behind the front in a single dugout which had been struck by the shell of a heavy mortar 105 dead Frenchmen. Without paying any attention to the destructive fire, our artillery observers sit in their places and make the necessary reports on the effect of the fire. At three different points Lieutenants Kayser and Fritsche and Substitute Officer Bock held out the whole morning in their sapheads only a few meters from the enemy's trench and from there directed the fire of their batteries.

Shortly before the assault two pioneers, Sergeant Bansamier and Noncommissioned Officer Tuttenuit, creep forward in a sap close to the French position, and here, under a hail of hand grenades and mines, calmly place a double charge of explosives for firing. At 11:30 it is fired-a tremendous explosion-and in the next moment the first musketeers and pioneers leap through the funnel formed by the explosion toward the French trench. In the turn of a hand the still undamaged French wire obstructions are torn down and cut apart, to the right and left hand grenades fly among the heads of

the Frenchmen, and, as the first man of all, Pioneer Blum, of Company I of Pioneer Battalion 16, leaps into the hostile trench. Some two or three minutes pass and the first wave of the attackers has overrun the foremost trench and is storming on toward the second and third lines. At the same moment the storm breaks loose along the whole front, from the Bolante to the other side of the Roman Road.

At many points our men, as they leap forward out of the trench, are met by a raging infantry and machine gun fire. Everything now depends on overcoming the obstructions as quickly as possible. At one particularly dangerous point a young officer, Lieutenant von Marshall, far ahead of his men, leaps across the broad wire entanglement some four The others follow him. paces wide. Before them lies a blockhouse from which two machine guns are vomiting death The riflemen throw and destruction. themselves upon it, cast their hand grenades through the loopholes and the rear entrance, and thus incapacitate the crew of the guns. Three, four, five trenches are rushed, then on they go down into the valley of the Meurisson. Here there stands in a covered position a mine thrower which is bravely served to the last minute by a French Captain of artillery. His men lie dead or badly wounded beside him. He is just about to hurl one of his terrible mines when a young farmer from the Silesian-Polish border, the Chasseur Kucznierz, leaps to his side and calls out: "So you have thrown your mines at us! Here are your wages!" The officer starts to lift his revolver, but the Silesian rifle butt is swifter than the bullet of the Captain.

Ever onward rush the brave chasseurs. In the heat and excitement of the fight many do not notice that they have already reached Height 285, the selected objective, and press on beyond it, down into the Vallée des Courtes Chausses. In the meantime, the officers, correctly recognizing the situation, have halted a large part of their companies on the top of the height and begin at once with consolidating the new position and putting it into such a de-

gree of order as would barely meet first necessities. A small detachment of the boldest rushes on into the middle of the French batteries and camp, at their head Lieutenant of Reserves Englisch of the Third Company of Chasseurs, Battalion 6.

The chasseurs attempt in their enthusiasm over their valuable booty to draw away the captured guns-four light and one heavy. It is impossible, the cannon are too firmly built in and they are too heavy. So they have to content themselves with smashing to pieces with axes, spades, pickaxes, and other tools, whatever they can of the sighting apparatus, the apparatus for loading, &c., of these guns in order to leave to the enemy the booty they are compelled to resign in as useless and spoiled a condition as possible. In the very last minute Chasseur Wistoba and Officer Broll each stuff a hand grenade from the muzzles into the barrels of two of the guns and by their explosion destroy the load chambers and other parts. Broll throws a second hand grenade into the stack of ammunition near by, which goes up into the air with a mighty crash, and then, on the run, back to the battalion, for a minute's longer delay would have delivered these daring fellows into the hands of the approaching French reserves. At another point the chasseurs had in quick order totally smashed a powerful motor which supplied suppressed air to the mine saps.

All this has happened in hardly more than two hours. In the meantime a complete brilliant success had been won also on all other parts of the battle front. Quite especially distinguished was the work of a battalion of Infantry Regiment 105 under the leadership of Captain Wegener at the storming of La Fille Morte. The battalion had made its attack from the Black Mount and had first of all to storm the exceptionally strongly built point of support of the enemy called the Stone Fortress. The quick success of this attack is in large part to be ascribed to Lieutenant of Reserves Breithaupt of the Second Company, who with his detachment was able by skillfully encircling the Meurisson hollow to take the enemy in the rear and cut him off. At some places on the Bollante the Frenchmen defended themselves with desperate obstinacy and great power of resistance. It was not always possible for our troops here to rush forward from one position to another over the ground covered with shrubbery. They had to work their way forward step by step through the wilderness of saps and connecting trenches. At the exit of such a trench a French officer had taken up his position and shot down every German who showed himself at the other end. A soldier knelt beside him with a second rifle, which he handed to his Lieutenant loaded after every shot. It was only after a considerable time that a German officer succeeded by means of a well aimed hand grenade in removing this obstinate heroically fighting enemy.

On the other wing to the east of the Roman Road the attack at first made only slight progress. Here Lieutenant Johanssen, also of the doughty Silesian Chasseurs, did great service in that he recognized at the decisive moment the possibility of taking in the flank from the west and forcing to yield the French who were attacked in the front by the men of the 130th.

In the afternoon the French undertook several counterattacks against Height 285. These were repelled by the men of the 144th and the chasseurs.

Along the entire front the German troops in the hot struggles of July 13 had attained the objects set for them to the full. The line of heights; 285; La Fille Morte, was firmly in possession of the Germans. The enemy had left in their hands 64 officers, among them 1 Major and 9 Captains, and more than 3,400 men as prisoners, 2 mountain and 2 revolver cannon, 34 machine guns, 51 mine throwers, 5 bronze mortars, and an incalculable amount of ammunition, weapons, and tools. More than 2,000 dead Frenchmen covered the battlefield and were buried by our troops the next day.

In the Argonnes battles, from June 20 to July 13, there were taken prisoners

116 officers and more than 7,000 men. More than 4,000 dead Frenchmen were counted, and the number of wounded is estimated at 5,000 to 6,000. From this the total French losses in this period is found to amount to roundly 16,000 to 17,000.

Our troops without qualification admit with respect and admiration the courage, obstinate and careless of death with which the Frenchmen defended themselves step for step, from trench to trench, from one shell hole to another. But do they over there well know what they are fighting for? Do they all believe the fairy tales that the German barbarians in love with conquest have instigated this war, and do they all hate us Germans? Surely not. But they do their duty to the utmost, to the last breath, like true soldiers. Hence, honor to the memory of our fallen enemies.

So much more the deep, therefore, is indignation among our troops over the unmeasured truthfulness of the French reports. Officially the Parisian press announces:

The army of the Crown Prince has again taken up the offensive in the Argonne and has suffered a new reverse. The enemy who temporarily had penetrated our forward trenches was immediately hurled back by our counteroffensive. The gains of the Germans in no case amount to more than 400 meters. Point 285, which for a moment was occupied by the enemy, was immediately retaken by us.

When to this is opposed the fact that we continue in firm possession of Height 285, that the hostile counter-attacks were not able to take from us a single centimeter of the ground we had won, and that our gain in ground amounts throughout to from 700 to 800 meters, and at some points even to more than 1,000 meters, it is to be woundered at that the French officials are not ashamed, before their own troops, who, of course, are able to judge of the result of the battle, thus to affront the truth.

"If we continue to suffer this kind of reverses," say our men at the front, "then we will gradually work our way by reverses to Paris."

How the British Lost Sari Bair

Description of the Most Ferocious "Soldiers' Battle" Since the Crimean War

By Ellis Ashmead Bartlett

Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, authorized press correspondent with the allied forces at Gallipoli, sent the following dispatch describing "a second Inkerman" to The London Morning Post, dated Eastern Mediterranean, Aug. 19, 1915, and published on Sept. 1:

INCE the great battle, the greatest fought on the Gallipoli Peninsula, closed on the evening of Aug. 10, both armies have been busily engaged in consolidating their new positions, in taking stock of gains and losses, replenishing their ammunition and munitions, and reorganizing the divisions, brigades, and battalions which of necessity became intermingled in this rugged, mountainous country.

Since my last cabling I have had time to visit the ground over which the Anzac corps advanced in its desperate efforts, extending over four consecutive days, to reach the crest of Sari Bair, commanding the ridge overlooking the Dardanelles. The New Zealand infantry, the Gurkhas, and some other battalions almost reached the objective, but were unable, through no fault of their own, to hold their position. A battalion of Gurkhas actually reached the crest of the plateau, but the Turks, taking advantage of the confusion, counterattacked in great force, and the gallant men from the hills were driven from the crest to the lower spurs beneath.

It was a bitter disappointment to have to relinquish the crest when it almost seemed to be within their grasp after so many months, but there was no alternative. The Anzac corps fought like lions and accomplished a feat of arms in climbing these heights almost without a parallel. All through, however, they were handicapped by the failure of

the corps to make good its positions on the Anafarta hills, further north, and thus check the enemy's shell fire.

When all the details of these complicated arrangements are collected and sifted, they will form one of the most fascinating pages of the history of the whole war. It was a combat of giants in a giant country, and if one point stands out more than another it is the marvelous hardihood, tenacity, and reckless courage shown by the Australians and New Zealanders.

In order to enable the forces detailed for the main movement to go forward, which it was hoped would lead to the occupation of the Sari Bair position from Chunuk Bair through Q Hill to Koja Chemon Tepe, it was necessary to attract the enemy's attention toward the south and force him to keep his troops in front of our lines in position while the main force debouched from the Anzac position in Lone Pine—a position situated on a plateau 400 feet high, southeast of the Anzac lines.

The Australians rushed forward to the assault with the fury of fanatics, taking little heed of the tremendous shrapnel fire and enfilading rifle fire. On reaching the trenches the great difficulty was to force a way in, for the cover was so strong and heavy it had to be torn away by main force. Groups of men effected entrances at various points and jumped in on top of the Turks, who fought furiously, caught as they were, in a trap. Some surrendered, but the majority chose to die fighting. In every trench and sap and dugout desperate hand-to-hand fighting took place, four lines of trenches being captured in succession, and fresh infantry being poured in as the advancing lines were thinned by losses.

In this fighting bombs played the most important rôle, and it was only by keeping up and increasing the supply that the Australians were able to hold the position after it had been won. Turks massed their force, and for three nights and days made desperate counterattacks, frequently retaking sections of the line, only to be driven out again. In this extraordinary struggle, which took place almost under ground, both sides fought with utter disregard of life. The wounded and dead choked the trenches almost to the top, but the survivors carried on the fight over heaps of bodies. In spite of immense reinforcements, with most determined courage the Australians held the ground thus won, and finally the Turks wearied of the struggle.

The trenches were now merely battered shambles, and the task of removing the dead and wounded took days to accomplish. The bodies of 1,000 Turks and Colonials were removed from the trenches alone, while hundreds of others lie outside. The total Turkish losses in this section alone are estimated at 5,000, chiefly incurred in furious counterattacks, among which each bomb burst with fearful effect.

The capture of Lone Pine is the most desperate hand-to-hand fight that has taken place on the peninsula, but this was but a diversion and preliminary to the main movement northward, which began the same evening under cover of darkness. No finer feat has been accomplished in the course of the war than the manner in which the troops destined for the main movement against Sari Bair Ridge were deployed for the attack. Millions of rounds of ammunition and thousands of shells were successfully concentrated at advanced posts without the enemy becoming aware of the movement. Neither did he know of the strong reinforcements which had reached the Australian corps. All this required the utmost skill, and was successfully kept a profound secret.

It was at 9 P. M. Aug. 6 when the force destined to attack old No. 3 post crept forward from the outposts. For nights past the navy had thrown search-

lights on this and other lower positions and had bombarded them at frequent intervals. This procedure was not departed from on the 6th, and the Turks had no suspicion of the coming attack. When the lights were switched on to another position the Australians dashed forward and speedily captured the positions in succession, and throughout the night Bauchop's Hill and Big and Little Table Tops were occupied.

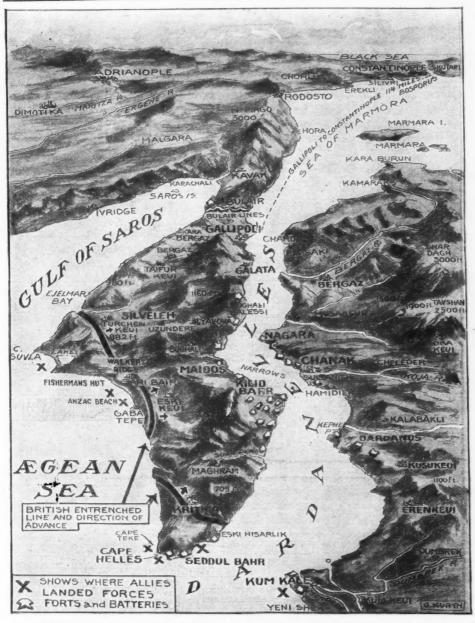
By the morning of the 7th our whole force was holding the front from Damak-jelik Bahr to Sazil Dere and slowly moving toward the main Sari Bair position in face of great difficulties, harassed by the enemy's snipers and checked by the difficulties of the ground and the scarcity of water.

At dawn on the 7th the left of our line had reached the Asma Dere position. The Indians had advanced a long way toward Dehunuk Bahr, while the New Zealand infantry was on the Rhododendron spur and ridge. It was decided to postpone a further advance until nightfall. The forces were reorganized into three columns. For the final assault on Chanuk Bahr, which was timed to begin at dawn on Aug. 9, large reserves from another division were thrown into the firing line to assist the New Zealand and Indian infantry, and the men, as far as possible, rested through the day and the early part of the night.

The advance on the morning of the 9th was preceded by a heavy bombardment of Chanuk Bahr and Q Hill by the naval and land guns. The advance of No. 3 column was delayed by the broken nature of the ground and the enemy's resistance.

Meanwhile the Gurkhas advanced gallartly up the slope of Sari Bair, and actually succeeded in reaching the heights on the neck between Chanuk Bahr and Q Hill. It was from here that they looked down on the Dardanelles, but were unfortunately unable to hold the position in face of violent counterattacks and heavy shell fire.

During this time the Turks counterattacked the left column in great strength, and the column was compelled



The twelve miles of battle front reported by Lord Kitchener in the House of Lords on Sept. 15, 1915, as held by the allied forces at the Dardanelles.

to withdraw to the lower slopes of Sari Bair.

Meantime throughout the day and night the New Zealanders succeeded in maintaining their hold on Chanuk Bahr, although the men were thoroughly exhausted. During the night of the 9th the exhausted New Zealanders were relieved by two other regiments. At dawn the Tenth Regiment of the Turks, which had been strongly reinforced, made a desperate assault on our lines from Q

Hill and Chanuk Bahr. To the strength of a division, in successive lines, they hurled themselves, quite regardless of their lives, on the two regiments which, after desperate resistance, were driven from their position by artillery fire and sheer weight of numbers further down the slopes of Chanuk Bahr.

Following up their success, the Turks charged right over the crest and endeavored to gain the great gully south of Rhododendron Ridge, evidently with the intention of forcing their way between our lines and the Anzac position. But they had reckoned without our artillery and ships' guns. This great charge of four successive lines of infantry in close formation was plainly visible to our warships and all our batteries on land. In this section the Turks were caught in a trap. The momentum of their charge down hill prevented them from recoiling in time, and they were swept away by hundreds in a terrific storm of high explosive, shrapnel, and common shells from the ships' guns and our howitzers and field pieces.

Never since the campaign started has such a target delighted the hearts of our gunners. As the huge shells from the ships exploded huge chunks of soil were thrown into the air, amid which you saw human bodies hurled aloft and then chucked to earth or thrown bodily into deep ravines. But even this concentrated artillery fire might not have checked the Turkish advance unless it had been assisted by the concentrated fire of ten machine guns at short range. For half an hour they maintained a rapid fire until the guns smoked with heat.

During the whole of this time the Turks were pouring across the front in dense columns, attempting to attack our men. Hardly a Turk got back to the hill.

Their lines got mixed up in a wedge as those in front tried to retire while others pressed them from the rear. Some fled back over the crest, seeking to regain their trenches; others dashed downward to the ravines.

In a few minutes the entire division had been broken up and the survivors scattered everywhere.

Thus, if they succeeded in driving us from the crest of Chanuk Bahr, the Turks paid a terrible price for their success.

Thus closed, for the time being, amid these bloodstained hills, the most ferocious and sustained "soldiers' battle" since Inkerman.

Preparedness

By O. C. A. CHILD,

Must we, then, see our flag, flung from its staff, Ground in the dirt 'neath boot-heels of a foe Who, trained, triumphant, scatter us like chaff And marches onward, slaying as they go?

Must we, then, wait until, through gore flecked streets, Invaders ride—our dead their horse hoofs spurn— An Emperor's scornful proclamation meets Our shame-sick eyes—must we see that to learn?

No! by our God, not so! Grind sharp the sword, Then slip it in its sheath against The Day! Marshal the men and mold them from a horde To armies, ready when the bugles bray!

Hold the great ships in leash until it be
The time when, banners rippling in the sun,
We march prepared to fight for either sea—
To claim a victory timely zeal has won!

Britain's Massing of Resources

By H. H. Asquith, British Prime Minister

In its description of the opening of the House of Commons on Sept. 15, 1915, The Associated Press reported Prime Minister Asquith's speech as follows:

ONDON, Sept. 15.—The Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons, gave an exhaustive survey today of the financial and military situations, making candid statements of what had already been done and of the preparations "for carrying the war to a successful conclusion."

Both houses were crowded with members and spectators, who followed with the deepest interest Mr. Asquith's plain and businesslike statement in asking for another vote of credit of £250,000,000, (\$1,250,000,000,) the seventh since the war began, which was finally passed, and which brings the total to £1,262,000,000, (\$6,310,000,000,) and Lord Kitchener's reading of a carefully prepared and optimistic speech on the military operations and needs.

The Premier had to deal with huge figures to explain the financing of the war, and warned his hearers that although the expenditure was now over £3,500,000 (\$17,500,000) daily, there was a likelihood of its increasing owing to advances to Great Britain's allies and her dominions, which had reached £250,000,000, (\$1,250,000,000,) and to provision for munitions.

Since the war began nearly 3,000,000 men, he said, had enlisted in the army and navy. Besides that, 300,000 persons were now engaged in the manufacture of munitions, but both figures would have to be increased, and he appealed to the women to give their assistance, believing that they would make "a gigantic stride toward the solution of one of the most pressing problems."

Mr. Asquith candidly admitted that mistakes had been made, and added: "I do not say even now that we are doing all we might, or even all we ought to do."

He protested, however, against the attempts of a section of the press "to belittle and disparage our efforts."

After reviewing the operations in Flanders, the Dardanelles, and Poland, Mr. Asquith stated that the country had vastly exceeded any standard dreamed of before the war. As the war went on, however, that standard would rise, and new sacrifices would be demanded in men, munitions, and money.

A discussion on the question of conscription followed the Premier's speech, and the House finally granted the vote asked for.

The growing expenditures for the war were emphasized by the Premier in his speech. He said the average daily cost from April 1 to the end of June was £2,700,000 (\$13,500,000;) from July 1 to 17, £3,000,000; from July 18 to Sept. 11, £3,500,000. Thus the total for this period in round figures was £500,000,000. There had been repaid £50,000,000 to the Bank of England, £30,000,000 had been lent to foreign Governments, and £28,000,000 had been lent to the Dominions.

Comparing actual expenditures since the last vote of credit with estimates, Mr. Asquith said there had been some abnormal items, to disclose which would not be in the public interest, but the House might take it that these were of financing necessary operations. Part of this amount was to be repaid in the course of a few months and the remainder represented advances for future expenditure.

Mr. Asquith estimated that the weekly gross expenditure henceforth would not exceed £35,000,000. It was his opinion that the new vote would carry the country through to the third week of November.

"These figures throw some light, in many terms, on the contribution we are making to the war," he continued. "I do not wish to say even that we are doing all we can, all we ought, but as attempts are constantly being made—with whatever intention, but with the most mischievous effect—to belittle and discourage our efforts, I give some comparisons between peace and war figures.

"Since the outbreak of the war it will be found an aggregate of not far short of three millions have enlisted in the army and navy. Recruiting, on the whole, has kept up well, but, I regret to say, in the last few weeks has been falling off."

Regarding the work of the Munitions Department, the Premier said all that was now necessary to complete this great and necessary task was an adequate supply of labor, unskilled quite as much as skilled. There was no field wherein women could do more useful work. The Minister of Munitions had established twenty shell factories, and eighteen more were in course of construction. In all, 715 controlled establishments were under the department. In these factories 800,000 workmen were now employed, and the country had vastly exceeded any standard dreamed of before the war.

Reviewing the military situation, Mr. Asquith stated that in France and Flanders the position of the British troops had been strengthened everywhere by large reinforcements of men and munitions and that there had been a considerable extension of lines taken over from the French.

In the Dardanelles, he continued, the British had made substantial gains, though they had not succeeded in dislodging the Turks from the crest of the hills. The British now held a front of more than twelve miles.

In the east, Mr. Asquith said, the Russian Army remained unbroken. He asserted that the superiority of the Germans was only in artillery, and that their objective was still far out of reach.

"They succeeded in forcing back the line of our gallant ally and taking several fortresses," he continued, "but all accounts show that the Russian retreat is being conducted in masterly fashion and that the Russian Army is still unbroken. The assumption of supreme command by the Czar is the most significant proof that could be given of the un-

alterable determination, from highest to lowest, of the Russian people."

Mr. Asquith said that the total of Britain's loans to other belligerents was £250,000,000.

He referred to the high total of casualties, and said that the proportion of those who recovered from wounds was large.

"This is a war of mechanism, organization, endurance," he continued. "Victory seems likely to incline to the side that can arm itself best and stay longest. That is what we mean to do."

The Premier deprecated all recrimination. "Our business is to deal with the present, and forecast and provide for the future," he said. "We have satisfied the legitimate requirements and hopes of our allies, and we have to discharge the unique burden imposed upon a family of free people by our own sense of responsibility and our standard of duty and sacrifice."

One thing Mr. Asquith opposed was "the sinister spirit of domestic strife."

"We must all be ready to give and take, and take and give," he said, "and it must not be said that in the greatest moment of our history our arm was shorn of its strength by any failure on the part of either rulers or ruled to concentrate upon the unexampled task the consistent counsels, undivided energies, and unbreakable, indomitable will of the British people.

"The situation is a testing one. A survey of the past year calls for satisfaction at the great efforts and sacrifices made, and for regret that some mistakes and miscalculations have been made. Today we realize more clearly, through the mists of sophistry and mendacity in which Berlin seeks to obscure and befoul the international atmosphere, the sincerity of our own diplomacy, and the passionate love of peace wherewith we sought to avert the catastrophe of a world-wide conflict.

"It was the imperious call of duty which forced us to vindicate our national honor and enlist our whole strength in the sacred cause of freedom. I have no doubt either of the wisdom of our choice or of its ultimate triumph on the stricken field."

Three Million Soldier Britons

By Kitchener of Khartum

British Secretary of State for War

In his statement reviewing the Allied campaigns, made in the House of Lords at the opening of Parliament on Sept. 15, 1915, Earl Kitchener reported a recent extension of the British line in France, making a continuous battle front of approximately fifty miles. New armies trained from the 3,000,000 recruits added to the British forces since the beginning of the war have from time to time been sent out to join Field Marshal French's command. The text of the British War Secretary's speech, as cabled in large part from London by The Associated Press, appears below.

In his statement in the House of Lords on Sept. 15, 1915, Earl Kitchener said:

OR the last few months the front held by the Allies in the west has been practically unchanged. This does not mean that there has been relaxation of active work on the part of the forces in the field, for the continuous local fighting which has taken place all along the line has called for the display of incessant vigilance.

Meanwhile, our positions have been much strengthened, not only by careful elaboration of the system of trench fortifications that already existed, but also by a large increase in the number of heavy guns which have been placed along our

The Germans recently on several occasions used gas and liquid fire, and have bombarded our lines with asphyxiating shells, but these forms of attack, lacking as they now do, the element of surprise, have failed of their object and lost much of their offensive value owing to steps taken by us to counteract the effect of these pernicious methods.

As new armies have become trained and ready to take the field considerable reinforcements have been sent out to join Field Marshal French's command. You will be glad to hear his opinion of these troops, communicated to me. He writes:

The units appear to be thoroughly well officered and commanded. The equipment is in good order and efficient. Several units of artillery have been tested behind the firing line in the trenches, and I hear very good reports of them. Their shooting has been extremely good, and they are quite fit to take their place in the line.

These new divisions have now had the

opportunity of acquiring by experience in actual warfare that portion of the necessary training of soldiers which it was impossible to give them in this country and which, once acquired, will enable them effectively to take their place in the line with the rest of the British Army.

With these additional reinforcements, amounting to eleven divisions, (about 200,000 men,) Sir John French has been able to extend his lines and take over from the French approximately seventeen miles of additional front.

Throughout the Summer months the French have held their own along their extended line of the front, and in some places, notably near Arras and in Alsace, have made substantial progress. In the struggles around Arras early in June they captured whole heights at Nôtre Dame de Lorette, as well as a number of strongly fortified villages around this high ground, thereby securing an area of great tactical importance, in view of future operations.

In Alsace a number of dominating eminences have been wrested from the enemy and have been subsequently held in the face of formidable counterattacks. One particularly commanding summit, which overlooks the left bank of the Rhine in this quarter, and which had been the scene of continuous encounters for many months, after changing hands many times, rested finally in the possession of our allies.

French trenches along the entire front have been developed and strengthened, and now everywhere present a network of almost impregnable fortifications. Of this I was able to satisfy myself during a visit lately to our allies, at the invitation

of General Joffre, when I was profoundly impressed with the high state of efficiency and morale of the French Army. It was evident that officers and men recognized that the only possible termination to the war was to inflict on the enemy a thorough defeat. Their resolution to do this was never firmer nor more intense.

Our allies' aircraft have been particularly active. They have carried out numerous effective raids on a large scale, penetrating far into hostile territory.

Turning to the eastern theatre: The enemy taking advantage of their central position, since early in June have been employing a very large proportion of their forces in strenuous efforts to crush our Russian ally. In the prosecution of these operations, which we all have followed closely, the Germans, in addition to their great numerical superiority, developed vastly preponderating artillery, which enabled them to force the Russians from their defenses. The German objective was evidently to destroy the Russian Army as a force in being and thus set free their troops for action elsewhere; but, as in the case of many other plans arranged by the German Staff during this war, there has been signal failure to carry out the original intentions.

In the history of this war few episodes stand out more prominently, more creditably, than the masterly manner in which the Russian forces, distributed along a line of 750 miles, have been handled while facing violent assaults from an enemy greatly superior in numbers, especially of guns and munitions.

The success of this great rear-guard action has been rendered possible by the really splendid fighting qualities of the Russian soldier, who in every case where actual conflict has taken place has shown himself infinitely superior to his adversary. These fighting qualities of the Russian Army empowered her able Generals and competent staff to carry out the immensely difficult operation of retirement of the whole line over some 100 to 200 miles without allowing the enemy to break through at any point or by surrounding their forces to bring about a tactical position which might have in-

volved the surrender of a considerable portion of the Russian Army.

Thus we see the Russian Army remaining today intact as a fighting force. It doubtless has suffered severely from the hard fighting to which it had been subjected during recent months, but the German forces also had to pay heavy toll for their advance into Russia, and who will venture to say, until the present grip is relaxed, which armies suffered more?

It must not be forgotten that Russia, with her vast territory, has always been able ultimately to envelop and annihilate large invading armies. In this she certainly is no less capable today than she was a century ago.

As regards the net result, all that the Germans can place to their credit is that at an enormous sacrifice they have captured certain fortresses. But our recent experience shows that the best fortifications, and practically the only ones that can effectively resist the new machinery of war, are those which can be quickly dug deep in the soil. Such trenches today form better defenses than the most carefully fortified places of which the engineers until lately were so proud.

The Germans appear almost to have shot their bolt. Their advance into Russia, which at one time was carried out at an average daily rate of approximately five miles, has now diminished to less than one mile a day, and we see the forces which they boastingly described as defeated and broken troops flying before them, still doggedly and pluckily fighting along the whole line, and in some places, indeed, turning on the jaded invaders and inflicting heavy losses.

The Russian Army, far from falling out of the fighting lists, as Germany fondly hoped, is still a powerful and undefeated unit, and the determination and confidence of the troops, fortified by the increasing supply of munitions, have risen in proportion to the strain imposed upon them.

In this momentous hour of stress his Imperial Majesty the Czar has taken executive command of his armies in the field. The enthusiasm created by his step will serve to concentrate all the energies of his officers and men on driving back the invaders and preventing them from reaching any vital portion of the empire.

To sum up, we may fairly say that, while the Germans have prevailed by sheer weight of guns and at immense cost to themselves in forcing back the Russian front, nothing but barren territory and evacuated fortresses have been gained. Thus their strategy has clearly failed, and the victories they claim may only prove, as military history has so often demonstrated, to be defeats in disguise.

Dwelling on Italy's part in the war, Lord Kitchener said:

"The achievements of the Italian artillery have been truly remarkable, and the manner in which heavy pieces were hauled into almost inaccessible positions on lofty mountain peaks and in spite of great difficulties evokes universal admiration. The Italian Army now occupies strategic positions of first-rate importance. The gallant conduct of the infantry of the line in action has impressed upon their enemies the great military value of the Italian Army, while the bold feats of the Alpine troops and the bersaglieri when scaling rugged mountain sides were marvelous examples of successful enterprise."

Lord Kitchener then referred to the Dardanelles operations, saying:

On the Gallipoli Peninsula during the operations in June several Turkish trenches were captured. Our own lines were appreciably advanced and our positions were consolidated.

Considerable reinforcements having arrived, a surprise landing on a large scale at Suvia Bay was successfully accomplished on the 6th of August without any serious opposition.

At the same time an attack was launched by the Australian and New Zealand corps from the Anzac position, and a strong offensive was delivered from Cape Helles in the direction of Krithia. In this latter action French troops played a prominent part and showed to high advantage their usual gallantry and fine fighting qualities.

The attack from Anzac, after a series

of hotly contested actions, was carried to the summit of Sari Bair and Chunuk Bair, dominating positions in this area. The arrival of transports and the disembarkation of troops in Suvia Bay were designed to enable troops to support this attack. Unfortunately, however, the advance from Suvia Bay was not developed quickly enough, and the movement forward was brought to a standstill after an advance of about two and one-half miles.

The result was that the troops from Anzac were unable to retain their position on the crest of the hills, and after being repeatedly counterattacked they were ordered to withdraw to positions lower down. These positions have been effectively consolidated, and, now joining with the line occupied by the Suvia Bay force, form a connected front of more than twelve miles.

From the latter position a further attack on the Turkish intrenchments was delivered on the 21st, but after several hours of sharp fighting it was not found possible to gain the summit of the hills occupied by the enemy, and the intervening space being unsuitable for defense, the troops were withdrawn to their original position.

Since then comparative quiet has prevailed, and a much-needed rest has been given to our troops.

In the course of these operations the gallantry and resourcefulness of the Australian and New Zealand troops have frequently formed the subject of eulogy in General Hamilton's reports.

It is not easy to appreciate at their full value the enormous difficulties which have attended the operations in the Dardanelles or the fine temper with which our troops have met them.

There is now abundant evidence of a process of demoralization having set in among the German-led, or rather German-driven Turks, due, no doubt, to their extremely heavy losses and to the progressive failure of their resources.

It is only fair to acknowledge that, judged from a humane point of view, the methods of warfare pursued by the Turks are vastly superior to those which have disgraced their German masters.

Throughout, the co-operation of the

fleet has been intensely valuable, and the concerted action between the sister services has been in every way in the highest degree satisfactory.

Of the fighting in Mesopotamia, Lord Kitchener said reconnoissances had shown that the Euphrates was clear of Turks for a distance of sixty miles.

"Since this victory," he said, "there has been no further fighting on the Euphrates, Tigris, or Karun Rivers. Climatic conditions in this theatre of war have rendered the operations extremely arduous."

The Secretary went on to say:

As I have informed your Lordships, some of the new armies we have prepared and equipped for the war are already in the field, and others will quickly follow them. The response of the country to calls for recruits to form these armies has been little short of marvelous, but it must be borne in mind that the provision of men to maintain the forces in the field depends to a great degree on a large and continuous supply of recruits.

The provision to keep up their strength during 1916 has caused us anxious thought, which has been accentuated and rendered more pressing by the recent falling off in the numbers coming forward to enlist, although every effort has been made to obtain our requirements under the present system.

I am sure we all fully realize that the strength of the armies we are sending out must be fully maintained to the very end. To fulfill this purpose we shall require a large addition to the numbers of recruits joining. The problem of how to secure an adequate supply of men and thus insure the field force being kept up to its full strength is engaging our close attention and will, I hope, very soon receive a practical solution.

The returns of the Registration act, which will shortly be available, will no doubt give us a basis on which to calculate the resources of the country and so determine the number of men available for the army after providing for the necessary services of the country as well as those of our munition works.

Whatever decision may be arrived at in the full light of the facts before us must undoubtedly be founded on the military requirements for the prosecution of the war and the protection of our shores, and will be the result of an impartial inquiry as to how we can most worthily fulfill our national obligations.

Although there has been a falling off in the number of recruits, I do not draw from this fact any conclusion unfavorable to the resolution and spirit of the country. On the contrary, I think now, as I always have thought, that the manner in which all classes have responded to the call of patriotism is magnificent, and I do not for one instant doubt that whatever sacrifices may prove necessary to bring this gigantic war to a successful conclusion will be cheerfully undertaken by our people.

A Warning to British Labor

By David Lloyd George

Minister of Munitions for Great Britain

A Bristol (England) dispatch to The London Daily News, dated Sept. 9, 1915, reported:

UDGED either by its matter or manner, an address which Minister of Munitions Lloyd George delivered this afternoon before the Trade Union Congress will, undoubtedly, rank among the supreme speeches of his career. It would be as difficult to exag-

gerate the gravity of the statements of fact he felt called upon to make as to convey any adequate idea of the emotional atmosphere he created by his appeal.

"Unless," he told the Congress, "the unions allow unskilled men and women to do, as far as they are able, work hitherto done by skilled men, unless they allow, in fact, an unqualified re-

laxation of the union rules, we are making straight for disaster. Every hour counts, every hour means death, every hour takes us further from victory and nearer defeat, unless it is an hour spent by the nation in putting its whole strength into this great struggle for victory and freedom for the democracies of Europe."

The State, Mr. Lloyd George declared, had kept its bargain with labor by abolishing war profits in the munitions factories employing no fewer than 95 per cent. of the workers engaged. Had labor shown equal readiness to fulfill its side of the agreement? The answer was a reluctant no. In some factories, including the Government arsenal at Woolwich, said the Minister, the output was being restricted, in others men were refusing to work beside unskilled hands, and this at a time when 80,000 more skilled men and 200,000 more unskilled men and women must be employed if the Government was to carry out its program and the country play the part now inevitably assigned to it in the Allies' campaign.

With flashing eyes and upraised hands, in a voice that rose and fell in every gradation of appeal and challenge, sometimes begging, sometimes exhorting, but always vibrant with the emotion of a patriot, Mr. Lloyd George drove the moral of hard facts into the hearts and consciences of hearers never before touched with so sure a hand on every chord of feeling and reason.

The effect was amazing. Men who had come to heckle remained to cheer. Hardened Socialists sprang to their feet and shouted while they clapped. Questions that were meant to hurt died on the lips of the questioners and melted into applause. The congress became a great patriotic demonstration.

The speech was not a mere piece of able oratory, born to die in an afternoon. The congress had asked specifically for an explanation, and got it, and that explanation will be reckoned in the days to come as one of the things that won the war.

The Associated Press report of Lloyd George's speech in Bristol on Sept. 10 said: Mr. Lloyd George in his speech today declared that the war had resolved itself into a conflict between the mechanics in the contending nations.

"With you," said the Minister to the Congress, "victory is assured. Without you our cause is lost.

"I come here as the greatest employer of labor in this country. You passed resolutions yesterday pledging yourselves to assist the Government in a successful prosecution of the war, and I am here on behalf of the Government to take you at your word."

As between British and German workmen, the Minister said, he believed the British were the better.

Mr. Lloyd George told the delegates that notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made to speed up the work of turning out war munitions only 15 per cent. of the available machinery was being worked on night shifts.

"The country is not doing its best," he declared.

The Minister said the Government had under construction eleven new arsenals, to man which, in addition to the existing arsenals, 200,000 more men were required.

"The Government," he added, "cannot equip the army at this time unless the unions suspend during the war all instructions barring unskilled labor and all restrictions tending to prevent a maximum output. Therefore there must be no stoppages."

"Has the State kept its end of the bargain?" a voice shouted.

" No," another voice answered.

Replying to this, Mr. Lloyd George said the surplus profits of the firms engaged in munitions work would go to the Treasury to finance the war.

Mr. Lloyd George quoted from a trade union circular issued in Coventry, in which the men were counseled, in effect, not to work at their full capacity.

"This means," he commented, "that there has been a deliberate attempt to restrict the output in guns, the making of which is vital to the protection of the lives of men at the front. Is there any one here who will defend an action of that kind?"

There were loud cries of "No!"

"Then," said the Minister, "you have answered the question I came down to ask you. I knew you would not support such action."

Continuing, he said that as Minister of Munitions he had the right to ask workmen to come forth courageously and fearlessly say they would have no part "in trying to hold the arm of their native land when it is fighting for its life and their future labors depend largely upon the result of this war."

The Minister concluded by appealing to the men not to array the country against organized labor.

The congress adopted, virtually without opposition, at today's session a resolution presented by the Railway Clerks' Union on the subject of recruiting. The congress resolved:

"That this congress, being convinced that the issues involved in the present European war are of transcendant importance to the democracies of this and other countries, hereby records its entire approval of the action of the Parliamentary Labor Party in co-operating with the other political parties in the national recruiting campaign."

The consensus of opinion, as revealed in speeches in support of the resolution, was that it was no part of the teaching of trade unionism that it is the duty of man to turn the other cheek to the man who smites him. One speaker said that if when "Dear Brother Fritz" invaded Belgium the British Government had not decided to resist this move, the men and women of Britain would have forced it to do so.

No Time for Peace

By Rene Raphael Viviani

Premier of France

The Associated Press, in a dispatch from Paris, reported the speech delivered by Premier Viviani at the opening of the French Chamber of Deputies on Aug. 26, 1915, as follows:

By a vote of 539 to 1, the Chamber of Deputies today voted the credits asked by the Government after a stirring appeal by Premier Viviani, whose eloquent periods and vivid portrayal of the determination of France to fight for the attainment of an honorable and not a premature peace brought the members to their feet in tumultuous applause.

Premier Viviani arose to address the house as soon as the session was called to order. All the members of the Cabinet were on the Ministerial benches, and the galleries were filled with prominent persons, among them many women. Nearly all the members of the Diplomatic Corps were in their boxes.

"I am not going to speak of the sanitary service alone," said the Premier, but also of parliamentary incidents that cannot be ignored. In the higher interest of the country, by which we are judged, we must justify the union of Government and Parliament.

"The home services of the War Department have accomplished their tasks. In other quarters errors have been made, but Parliament has lent cordial co-operation without seeking at the time to fix responsibility for mistakes. The errors have been repaired.

"Let us banish pessimism and depressing anxiety. France, by the grace of all her children's efforts, her public servants prompted by necessary criticism, is equal to the task of fulfilling her destiny.

"Put the question of peace before the country, and it would be blown to nothing. Not until heroic Belgium has been freed, not until we have retaken Alsace

and Lorraine could there be mischievous division among us.

"Our enemies may continue astray in their dull error of last year, but not we, who have seen workmen and employer, the rich citizen and the poor, men of every party and every walk in life fulfilling with a single purpose and with equal zeal their duties in defense of the liberty of the world.

"With this certain knowledge we come before Parliament, which has given the country an admirable spectacle of rising to the demands of the future; which has devoted admiration for the army, from the Commander in Chief to the private—for all those combatants who, silently absorbed in their heroic labor, ask nothing better than to be left outside the sphere of politics.

"We must destroy the legend that the Republic of France, having borne for forty-five years a horrible wound, did not make provision for military defense. I must repeat the words of the Commander in Chief during the last session of the Chamber: 'The republic may be proud of her armies.'

"France has created an army fulfilling the most modern conceptions. She has instilled the love of justice, the love of right, and upon the day the war began the children of France united in support of this high ideal, without which there would have been only armies of mercenaries." At this the Deputies sprang to their feet and cheered the Premier wildly.

When the demonstration had died down, the Premier continued:

"Yes, the German press has said that France was divided. Yes, there are divergencies of opinion. These are the essence of free government. But it would be a fatal division, if there were in this country a fraction of the people who even thought of a premature peace.

"Parliament possesses supervisory rights, but nevertheless the authority of the Government must be all the stronger, owing to its greater responsibilities.

"We must have not only the expression of your confidence, but, for the great task before us, we must have the freedom of action necessary. We must have the definite adhesion of all hearts, all minds, and the good will of every one.

"Never has this been more necessary to the Government from an internal as well as an external point of view. The more that is demanded the greater the force required. It is for Parliament to grant it to the Government."

Premier Viviani concluded by saying: "I ask you to adopt the conciliatory attitude necessary, so that we may go on to victory."

The entire Chamber applauded, and it was voted that the Premier's address should be posted on the billboards throughout France.

A Train from Lille to Warsaw

The staff correspondent of The New York Times cabled from Berlin on Aug. 17, 1915:

Lille-Warsaw express. These words record another German mechanical and technical triumph.

Eleven days after the capture of Warsaw the military railroad officials have inaugurated a through train service, connecting the extremes of occupied enemy territory, leaving Lille at 6:40 o'clock in the morning, Brussels at 8:30, and Berlin at midnight, and arriving at Warsaw in time for luncheon the next afternoon.

The first trip of the new train eastward from Berlin carries a party of seven American war correspondents, including The Times representative, who are going to witness the bombardment of Fort Novo Georgievsk.

Great Britain and Germany

By T. von Bethmann-Hollweg

German Imperial Chancellor

The assertion that the Germans, by a refusal of Sir Edward Grey's proposal of a conference of the European powers, are guilty of this war, is denounced by the German Imperial Chancellor in the subjoined speech, delivered in the Reichstag at its meeting on Aug. 19, 1915, as a calumny "behind which our enemies wish to hide their own guilt." The speech is remarkable as a statement of Germany's military and diplomatic position, and it immediately aroused vigorous discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. Full texts of the speech and Sir Edward Grey's reply thereto, which was addressed as a letter to the British press on Aug. 25, 1915, are given below.

Below appears the full text of the speech delivered in the Reichstag by the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, at its opening on Aug. 19, 1915. Concerning it the Berlin correspondent of the Kölnische Volkszeitung says:

A characteristic of the Chancellor's speech in the Reichstag was increased severity toward England. It was as if the Chancellor was filled with physical loathing when he spoke of Sir E. Grey's frivolity and blood-guilt in this war. When he spoke of England the House listened breathlessly to the descriptions of how England strangled and violated the rights of neutrals. When, toward the end, the Chancellor pleaded for the good intentions of his former pro-English policy, the Reichstag showed that it accepted his explanations, although there was little or no applause. In that part of the speech there was apparent much disappointment, personal bitterness, and acerbity against England.

INCE our last meeting great things have again happened. All attempts of the French, in spite of their contempt for death and the utmost sacrifice of human life, to break our west front have failed against the stubborn pertinacity of our brave troops. Italy, who thought to conquer easily the goods of others which she has coveted, has been thus far brilliantly repulsed, despite her numerical superiority and unsparing sacrifice of human lives.

At the Dardanelles the Turkish Army makes an unflinching stand. Where we have assumed the offensive we have beaten and thrown back the enemy. With our allies we have freed almost all Galicia, Poland, Lithuania, and Courland from the Russians. Ivangorod, Warsaw, and Kovno have fallen. Far into hostile territory our lines present everywhere a solid wall. We have strong armies free for new blows. Proud and fearless, and relying on our glorious troops, we can regard the future.

Amid the horrors of war we recall gratefully the practical love of humanity displayed by neighboring neutral States toward us on the occasion of the return of civilians from hostile countries and the exchange of prisoners of war. The Netherlands has already twice given ready and devoted assistance to our severely wounded returning from England. I express the heartfelt thanks of the German people to this nation, [applause,] and add a word of special thanks to the Pope, who has displayed untiring sympathy with the idea of the exchange of prisoners and with so many works of humanity during the war, and to whom belongs the main credit for their realization.

Our enemies incur a terrible blood-guiltiness by seeking to deceive their peoples about the real situation. When they do not deny their defeats our victories serve them to accumulate new calumnies against us. For instance, that we were victorious in the first year of the war because we had treacherously prepared for this war long beforehand, while they in their innocent love of peace [laughter] were not ready for war.

You remember the bellicose articles which the Russian Minister of War caused

to be circulated in the Spring of 1914, in which the complete preparedness for war of the Russian Army was praised; you remember the frequently provocative language which France has in recent years employed; you know that France, whenever she satisfied Russia's financial needs, made it a condition that the greater portion of the loan should always be applied to war equipment.

Sir Edward Grey said in Parliament on Aug. 3: "We, with our mighty fleet, shall, if we participate in the war, suffer little more than if we remained outside."* The man who, on the eve of his own declaration of war, speaks in such a very sober and businesslike tone, and who, in accordance therewith, also directs the policy of his friends, can only act so when he knows that he and his allies are ready. [Loud applause.]

The fable that England participated in the war only for the sake of Belgium has been abandoned in the meantime by England herself. It was not tenable. Do the smaller nations still believe that England and her allies are waging war for their protection and the protection and freedom of civilization? Neutral commerce on sea is strangled by England. As far as possible goods destined for Germany must no longer be loaded on neutral ships. Neutral ships are compelled on the high seas to take English crews aboard and to obey their orders.

England without hesitation occupies Greek islands because it suits her military operations, and with her allies she wishes to constrain neutral Greece to make cessions of territory in order to bring Bulgaria to her side. In Poland, Russia, who is fighting with the Allies for the freedom of peoples, lays waste the entire land before the retreat of her armies. Villages are burned down, cornfields trampled down, and the popu-

*Sir Edward Grey's exact words on Aug. 3, 1914, were:

For us, with a powerful fleet, which we believe able to protect our commerce and to protect our shores, and to protect our interests if we are engaged in war, we shall suffer but little more than we shall suffer even if we stand aside. We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war, whether we are in it, or whether we stand aside.

lation—Jews and Christians—are sent to uninhabited districts. They languish in the mud of Russian roads, in windowless, sealed goods wagons. Such are the freedom and civilization for which our enemies fight. In her claims to be the protector of smaller States England counts on the world having a very bad memory.

In the Spring of 1902 the Boer republics were incorporated in the British Empire. Then their eves were turned to Egypt. To the formal annexation of this there was opposed the British Government's solemn promise to evacuate the land. That same England that to our proposal to guarantee to her Belgium's integrity if she remained neutral proudly replied that England could not make her obligations relative to Belgian neutrality a matter for bargaining; that same England had no scruple in bartering away to France her solemn obligation, undertaken toward all Europe, by the conclusion of a treaty with France, which was to give to England Egypt, and to France Morocco. In 1907 the southern portion of Persia, by agreement with Russia, was converted into an exclusively English sphere of interest, and the northern portion was delivered over to a freedom-loving regiment of Russian Cossacks.

[Herr Liebknecht here interjected "Potsdam interview."]

I am coming to that later. Whosoever pursues such a policy has no right to accuse of warlike aspirations and territorial covetousness a country which for forty-four years has protected European peace, and, while almost all other countries have waged wars and conquered lands, has striven only for peaceful development. That is hypocrisy. [Tempestuous applause.] Conclusive testimony of the tendencies of English policy and of the origin of the war is contained in the reports of Belgian Ministers.

For what reason are these documents as far as possible hushed up in London and Petrograd? The public of the Entente may look at the publications which I caused to be published, particularly about the negotiations of the English Military Attaché with the Belgian mili-

tary authorities. Here it is a question of England's policy of isolation. His colleagues in London and Paris form an exactly similar judgment to that of Baron Greindl, and this harmonious judgment is of quite decisive weight. Against these testimonies all attempts of the enemy to ascribe to us warlike ambitions, and to themselves a love of peace, fail. Was German policy not informed of these events, or did it intentionally close its eyes to them by still seeking an adjustment? Neither one nor the other.

There are circles who reproach me with political shortsightedness because I again and again endeavored to prepare an understanding with England. I thank God that I did. It is clearly proved that the fatality of this devastating world conflagration could have been prevented if an honest understanding with England, directed toward peace, had been accomplished. Who in Europe would then have thought of making war? With such an aim in view, should I have refused the work because it was heavy and because it again and again proved fruitless?

When it is a question of the utmost gravity in the life of the world, my motto is "With God nothing is impossible," and I would rather die in the struggle than have evaded it. King Edward saw his main task in personally promoting the English policy of isolation against Germany. After his death I hoped the negotiations for an agreement, already inaugurated by us in 1909, would make better progress. The negotiations dragged on till the Spring of 1911 without achieving any result. Then England's interference in our discussion with France in the Morocco question showed the entire world how English policy, in order to impose its will on the entire world, menaced the world's peace. Then also the English people was not exactly informed concerning the danger of the policy of its Government. When, after the crisis, it recognized how, by a hair's breadth, it had escaped the abyss of a world war, a sentiment grew up in wide circles of the English Nation in favor of establishing relations with us which would prevent warlike complications. Thus arose Lord Haldane's mission in the Spring of 1912.

Lord Haldane assured me that the English Cabinet was inspired with a sincere desire for an understanding. It was depressed by our impending naval budget. I asked him whether an open agreement with us, which would not only exclude an Anglo-German war, but any European war whatsoever, did not seem of more importance to him than a couple of German dreadnoughts more or less. Lord Haldane appeared inclined to this view. He asked me, however, whether, if we were assured of security in regard to England, we would not fall upon France and destroy her. I replied that the policy of peace which Germany had pursued for more than forty years ought really to save us from such a question. If we had planned robberlike attacks, we could have had the best opportunity during the South African war and Russo-Japanese war to show our love of war. Germany, which sincerely wished to live in peace with France, would just as little think of attacking another country.

After Haldane had left, negotiations were continued in London. In order to arrive at lasting relations with England we proposed an unconditional mutual neutrality undertaking. When this proposal was rejected by England, as going too far, we proposed to restrict neutrality to wars in which it could not be said that the power to whom neutrality was assured was the aggressor. This was also rejected by England, who proposed the following formula: "England will not make an unprovoked attack on Germany, and will refrain from an aggressive policy toward Germany. An attack on Germany is not included in any agreement or combination to which England is at present a party. England will not join any agreement which aims at such an attack." My opinion was that among civilized powers it was not customary to attack other powers without provocation, or join combinations which were planning such things. Therefore, a promise to refrain from such attacks could not be made the substance of a solemn agreement. The English Cabinet then proposed to affix the following to the above formula: "As both powers mutually desire to secure between themselves peace and friendship, England declares that she will not make any unprovoked attacks," &c., as I have already told you.

This addition could not in any way alter the nature of the English proposal, and nobody could have blamed me if already at that time I had broken off negotiations. In order to do all in my power to secure the peace of Europe I declared myself ready to accept this English proposal also, on condition that it was completed as follows: "England, therefore, will, of course, observe benevolent neutrality should war be forced upon Germany." Sir Edward Grey flatly refused this addition, as he declared to our Ambassador, from the fear that it would endanger the existing British friendship with other powers. This means for us the conclusion of the negotiations. England thought it a token of special friendship to be sealed by a solemn agreement that she would not fall upon us without reason, but reserved for herself a free hand in case her friends should like to do it.

Mr. Asquith on Oct. 2, 1914, referred to this at Cardiff. He told his audience that the English formula that England would not attack Germany without provocation was not sufficient for the German statesmen, who demanded that England should remain absolutely neutral in the event of Germany being involved in war. This assertion of Mr. Asquith's is a misrepresentation of the facts. Naturally we demanded unconditional neutrality at first, but in the course of negotiations we restricted our demand for neutrality to the contingency of war having been forced upon Germany. This Mr. Asquith withheld from his audience. I believe myself justified in declaring that he thereby missled public opinion in England in an unjustifiable manner. If Mr. Asquith had given the complete facts he could not have continued his speech as he did. He said: "And this demand, namely, for unconditional neutrality in any war, was proposed by German statesmen at a moment when Germany had greatly increased her aggressive and defensive means of power, especially on the sea. They demanded that we should give them, as far as we were concerned, a free hand when they chose the moment to conquer and govern Europe."

I cannot understand how Mr. Asquith could objectively represent so wrongly a fact of which he was very well informed to draw from it conclusions which were contrary to the truth. I mention this incident in order to protest before the entire world against the falsehood and slander with which our enemies fight against us. After we had made, in full cognizance of the anti-German direction of English policy, with the utmost patience the greatest possible concessions, they wanted to expose us before all the world by an exaggerated misrepresentation of the facts. Should our enemies succeed in drowning also these statements in the noise of battle and in unworthy work of inciting peoples, the time will come when history will pronounce judgment. At that time the moment had come when England and Germany by a sincere understanding could have secured the peace of the world. We were ready, England declined; she will never free herself from this blot.

Afterward Sir Edward Grey and the French Ambassador in London, M. Cambon, exchanged the well-known letters which aimed at an Anglo-French defensive alliance, but by separately concluded agreements between both the General Staffs and the Admiralty Staffs they became, in fact, an offensive alliance. This fact was also held from the public. Only when there was no way out the English Government, on Aug. 3, 1914, informed the public of this. Until then the English Ministers had always declared in Parliament that England, in the case of a European conflict, reserved a completely free hand. The same policy was pursued by England when naval negotiations, in the Spring of 1914, were opened with Russia, and the Russian Admiralty desired to invade our province of Pomerania with the assistance of English vessels. Thus the encircling by the Entente with its openly hostile tendencies became narrower. We were obliged to reply to the situation with the great armament of the budget of 1913.

As regards Russia, I have always acted

from the conviction that friendly relations to individual members of the Entente might diminish tension. On isolated questions we had come to a good understanding with Russia. I remind you of the Potsdam agreement. The relations between the Governments were not only correct, but were also inspired by personal confidence. But the general situation was not solved, because the revanche idea of France and the bellicose pan-Slavist attempts at expansion in Russia were continually encouraged by the anti-German policy of the balance of power of the London Cabinet. The tension thus grew to such an extent that it could not stand a serious test. Thus the Summer of 1914 arrived.

In England it is now asserted that war could have been avoided if I had agreed to the proposal of Sir Edward Grey to participate in a conference for the adjustment of the Russo-Austrian conflict. The English proposal for a conference was handed here on July 27 through the Ambassador. The Foreign Secretary in a conversation with Sir E. Goschen, in which he characterized the proposed method as unsuitable, declared that according to his information from Russia, M. Sazonoff was prepared for a direct exchange of opinion with Count Berchtold, and that direct discussion between St. Petersburg and Vienna might lead to a satisfactory result. Therefore it would be best, Herr von Jagow said, to await this discussion.

Sir E. Goschen reported this to London, and received Sir Edward Grey's answer, namely, that this would be a procedure which was by far to be preferred to all others. At that time Sir Edward Grey agreed to the German standpoint and expressly put aside his proposal for a conference. We especially pursued our mediatory action at Vienna in a form which approached to the last degree the line of what was consonant with our alliance. On July 29 the German Ambassador in St. Petersburg reported that M. Sazonoff had announced to him that the Vienna Cabinet categorically declined a direct discussion. Therefore, nothing else remained than to return to the proposal of Sir Edward Grey for a conversation of four. As the Vienna Government, meanwhile, declared itself prepared to agree to a direct exchange of opinion with St. Petersburg, it was obvious that a misunderstanding prevailed.

I telegraphed to Herr von Tschirschky, our Ambassador in Vienna, that we could not expect that Austria-Hungary should negotiate with Serbia, with whom she was in a state of war. But the refusal of any exchange of opinion with St. Petersburg would be a bad blunder. Though we were ready to fulfill our duty as an ally, we must decline to be drawn into a world conflagration by Austria-Hungary ignoring our advice. Herr von Tschirschky answered that Count Berchtold had declared that, in fact, a misunderstanding prevailed on the Russian side. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in St. Petersburg had at once received corresponding instructions. When in England shortly before the war excitement increased and serious doubts became loud concerning our endeavors for the preservation of peace, I published this incident in the English press. And now the insinuation is spread that this incident never took place at all, and that the instructions to Herr von Tschirschky were inventions in order to mislead public opinion. You will agree with me that this accusation is not worthy of reply.

After clearing up the above-mentioned misunderstandings conversations began between St. Petersburg and Vienna, until they found a conclusion by general mobilization of the Russian Army. I repeat that we carried on direct conversation between Vienna and St. Petersburg with the utmost vigor and success. The assertion that we, by a refusal of the English proposal of a conference, are guilty of this war belongs to the category of calumnies behind which our enemies wish to hide their own guilt. War became unavoidable solely by a Russian mobilization. We shall emerge as victoriously from the fight against these calumnies as from the great fight on the battle-Our and the Austro-Hungarian troops have reached the frontiers in the east defined by the Congress of Poland. Both now have the task of administering the country. For centuries geographical



CHARLES M. SCHWAB

President of the Bethlehem Steel Company That Makes Munitions for the Quadruple Entente
(Photo © by Harris & Ewing)



GENERAL VON GALLWITZ
In Command on the Narew River
(Photo from Medem Photo Service)

and political fate has forced the Germans and Poles to fight against each other. The recollection of these old differences does not diminish respect before the passion of patriotism and tenacity with which the Polish people defends its old Western civilization and its love of independence in the severe sufferings from Russoism, and a love which is maintained also through the misfortune of this war.

I hope that today's occupation of the Polish frontiers against the East represents the beginning of a development which will remove old contrasts between Germans and Poles, and will lead the country liberated from the Russian yoke to a happy future, so that it can foster and develop the individuality of its national life. The country occupied by us will be justly administered by us, with the assistance of its own population. As far as possible we will try to adjust the unavoidable difficulties of war, and will heal the wounds which Russia has inflicted on the country.

This war, the longer it lasts, will leave Europe bleeding from a thousand wounds. The world which will then arise shall and will not look as our enemies dream. They strive for the restitution of the old Europe, with powerless Germany as a tributary of a gigantic Russian Empire. No, this gigantic world's war will not bring back the old bygone situation. A new one must arise. If Europe shall come to peace it can only be possible by the inviolable and strong position of Germany. The English policy of the balance of power must disappear, because it is, as the English poet, Shaw, recently said, a hatching of other wars. When our Ambassador on Aug. 4 took leave of Sir Edward Grey, the latter said that this war which had broken out between England and Germany would at the conclusion of peace enable him to do us more valuable services than the neutrality of England would allow him. [General laughter.] Before his eyes the giant victorious Russia rose, and perhaps behind it defeated Germany. Then weakened Germany would have been good enough to be a vassal of her helper England.

Germany must thus consolidate, strengthen, and secure her position so

that other powers can never again think of a policy of isolation. For our and other people's protection we must gain the freedom of the seas, not as England did, to rule over them, but that they should serve equally all peoples. We will be, and will remain, the shield of peace and freedom of big and small nations. We do not menace the little peoples of Germanic race. How busily are the diplomats of the Quadruple Entente engaged in influencing the Balkan peoples by telling them that the victory of the central powers would throw them into slavery, while the triumph of the Quadruple Entente would bring them freedom, independence, gain in territory, and economical thrift. It is only a few years ago that the hunger for power of Russia created, under the motto, "The Balkans for the Balkan people," the union which soon decayed through her favoring the Serbian breach of agreement toward Bulgaria. The German and Austro-Hungarian victories in Poland have freed the Balkans from Russian pressure. England was once the protector of the Balkans. As the ally of Russia she can only be the oppressor of their independence.

Hardly another great people in the last century has endured such sufferings as the Germans, and yet we can love this fate which gave us in such sufferings the spirit to accomplish gigantic deeds. For the empire, at last united, every year of peace was a gain, because we made best progress without war. We do not want war. Germany never strove for supremacy in Europe. Her ambition was to be predominant in peaceful competition with great and small nations in works for the general welfare of civilization. This war has shown of what greatness we are capable, relying on our own moral strength. The power that gave us the inner strength we cannot employ otherwise than in the direction of freedom. We do not hate the peoples who have been driven into war by their Governments. We shall hold on through the war till those peoples demand peace from the really guilty, till the road becomes free for the new liberated Europe, free of French intrigues, Muscovite desire of conquest, and English guardianship.

Reply to the German Chancellor

By Sir Edward Grey

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain

To the Editor of The London Daily Telegraph:

IR: There are some points in the speech of the German Chancellor, made last week, which may, I think, be suitably dealt with in a letter to the press, pending the fuller review of the situation which may be appropriate to some other method and time. I will state the facts and the reflections they suggest as briefly and clearly as I can, and ask you to be good enough to make them public:

1. The Belgian record of conversation with the British Military Attaché was published by Germany last Autumn to prove that Belgium had trafficked her neutrality with us and was, in effect, in a plot with us against Germany.

The conversation of which most use has been made was never reported to the Foreign Office, nor, as far as records show, to the War Office at the time, and we saw a record of it for the first time when Germany published the Belgian record. But it bears on the face of it that it referred only to the contingency of Belgium being attacked, that the entry of the British into Belgium would take place only after the violation of Belgian territory by Germany, and that it did not commit the British Government. No convention or agreement existed between the British and Belgian Governments. Why does the German Chancellor mention these informal conversations of 1906 and ignore entirely that in April, 1913, I told the Belgian Minister most emphatically that what we desired in the case of Belgium, as in that of other neutral countries, was that their neutrality should be respected and that as long as it was not violated by any other power we should certainly not send troops ourselves into their territory?

Let it be remembered that the first use made by Germany of the Belgian docu-

ment was to charge Belgium with bad faith to Germany. What is the true story? On July 29, 1914, the German Chancellor tried to bribe us by a promise of future Belgian independence to become a party to the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany. On the outbreak of war he described the Belgian treaty as a scrap of paper, and the German Foreign Secretary explained that Germany must go through Belgium to attack France, because she could not afford the time to do otherwise. The statement of Herr von Jagow is worth quoting again: "The Imperial Government had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible. It was a matter of life and death for them, as, if they had gone by the more southern route, they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition. entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would have meant time gained by the Russians for bringing up their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops." In the Reichstag, too, on Aug. 4, 1914, the German Chancellor stated, in referring to the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg: "The wrong -I speak openly-the wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained."

The violation of Belgian neutrality was therefore deliberate, although Germany had actually guaranteed that neutrality, and surely there has been nothing more despicably mean than the attempt to justify it ex posto facto by bringing against the innocent and inoffensive Belgian Government and people the totally false charge of having plotted against

Germany. The German Chancellor does not emphasize in his latest speech that charge, which has been spread broadcast against Belgium. Is it withdrawn? And, if so, will Germany make reparation for the cruel wrong done to Belgium?

2. The negotiations for an Anglo-German agreement in 1912, referred to by the German Chancellor, were brought to a point at which it was clear that they could have no success unless we in effect gave a promise of absolute neutrality while Germany remained free under her alliances to take part in European war. This can, and shall, be explained by publishing an account of the negotiations, taken from the records in the Foreign Office.

The Chancellor quotes an isolated sentence from my speech of Aug. 3, 1914, to prove that we were ready for war. In the very next sentence, which he might have quoted but does not quote, I said: "We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war, whether we are in it or whether we stand aside." I leave it to any one outside Germany in any neutral country to settle for himself whether those are the words of a man who had desired and planned European war, or of one who had labored to avert it. The extent of the German Chancellor's misapplication of the isolated sentence which he quotes will be obvious to any one who reads the full context of the speech.

As to the other statement attributed to me; not even when we were perfectly free, when Japan, who was our ally, had not entered the war, and when we were not pledged to other allies as we are now by the agreement of Sept. 5, 1914, did I say anything so ridiculous or untrue as that it was in the interest of Germany that we had gone to war and with the object of restraining Russia.

4. The war would have been avoided if a conference had been agreed to. Germany on the flimsiest pretext shut the door against it. I would wreck nothing on a point of form, and expressed myself ready to acquiesce in any method of mediation that Germany could suggest if mine was not acceptable. Mediation, I said, was ready to come into operation by

any method that Germany thought possible, if only Germany would press the button in the interests of peace.

The German Chancellor, according to his speech, encouraged nothing except direct discussion between Vienna and Petrograd. But what chance had that of success when, as we heard afterward, the German Ambassador at Vienna was expressing the opinion that Russia would stand aside, and conveying to his colleagues the impression that he desired war from the first, and that his strong personal bias probably colored his action there?

Some day, perhaps, the world will know what really passed between Germany and Austria respecting the ultimatum to Serbia and its consequences.

It has become only too apparent that in the proposal of a conference which we made, which Russia, France, and Italy agreed to, and which Germany vetoed, lay the only hope of peace. And it was such a good hope! Serbia had accepted nearly all of the Austrian ultimatum, severe and violent as it was. The points outstanding could have been settled honorably and fairly in a conference in a week. Germany ought to have known, and must have known, that we should take the same straight and honorable part in it that she herself recognized we had taken in the Balkan conference, working not for diplomatic victory of a group but for fair settlement, and ready to side against any attempt to exploit the conference unfairly to the disadvantage of Germany or Austria.

The refusal of a conference by Germany, though it did not decide British participation in the war, did, in fact, decide the question of peace or war for Europe and sign the death warrant of the many hundreds of thousands who have been killed in this war.

Nor must it be forgotten that the Emperor of Russia proposed to the German Emperor that the Austro-Serb dispute should be settled by The Hague Tribunal.

Is there one candid soul in Germany and Austria-Hungary who, looking back on the past year, does not regret that neither the British nor Russian proposal was accepted?

5. And what is the German program as we gather it from the speech of the Chancellor and public utterances in Germany now? Germany to control the destiny of all other nations; to be "the shield of peace and freedom of big and small nations "-those are the Chancellor's words-an iron peace and a freedom under a Prussian shield and under German supremacy. Germany supreme, Germany alone would be free-free to break international treaties; free to crush when it pleased her; free to refuse all mediation; free to go to war when it suited her; free, when she did go to war, to break again all rules of civilization and humanity on land and at sea; and, while she may act thus, all her commerce at sea is to remain as free in time of war as all commerce is in time of peace. Freedom of the sea may be a very reasonable subject for discussion, definition, and agreement between nations after this war; but not by itself alone, not while there is no freedom and no security against war and German methods of war on land. If there are to be guarantees against future war, let them be equal, comprehensive, and effective guarantees that bind Germany as well as other nations, including ourselves.

Germany is to be supreme. The freedom of other nations is to be that which Germany metes out to them. Such is apparently the conclusion to be drawn from the German Chancellor's speech; and to this the German Minister of Finance adds that the heavy burden of thousands of millions must be borne through decades, not by Germany, but by those whom she is pleased to call the instigators of the war. In other words, for decades to come Germany claims that whole nations who have resisted her should labor to pay her tribute in the form of war indemnities.

Not on such terms can peace be concluded or the life of other nations than Germany be free, or even tolerable. The speeches of the German Chancellor and Finance Minister make it appear that Germany is fighting for supremacy and tribute. If that is so, and as long as it is so, our allies and we are fighting, and must fight, for the right to live, not under German supremacy, but in real freedom and safety. Your obedient servant, E. GREY.

Foreign Office, Aug. 25, 1915.

How Germany Saved Her Merchant Fleet

Godfrey Isaacs, Managing Director of Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Ltd., at its last annual meeting in London related how the Germans tried to save their mercantile marine by a wireless message sent out at 5 o'clock on Aug. 4, seven hours before war was declared. Germany's chain of wireless stations in all her colonies cost her £2,000,000. He said:

In the light of what subsequently happened, you will probably say that it was a very bad investment; but you would be mistaken. You will remember that this country declared war on Germany at midnight on Aug. 4 last. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Aug. 4 Germany sent out a message to all its wireless stations, which passed that message on from one to another, and sent it out to sea, covering a radius of something like 2,000 miles or more—a message to this effect:

War declared upon England. Make as quickly as you can for a neutral port.

By that message, which occupied but a few minutes, Germany contrived to save the greater part of its mercantile marine. If it had but saved one of its big ships—the Vaterland or any one of that class—it would have paid for the whole cost of these wireless stations. We all know that it was a great deal more than that, and it did a great deal more than send this message to its mercantile marine. But I don't think I am permitted to go further or to tell you any more than I have told you with regard to the saving of the mercantile marine.

Billions for Germany's War

By Karl Helfferich

German Secretary of the Treasury

The subjoined speech by Karl Helfferich, Germany's Treasurer, was made in the Reichstag on Aug. 20, 1915. It preceded the addition of \$7,500,000,000 to the first German war loans amounting to \$5,000,000,000. The speech is translated from the official German verbatim report.

UESTION OF MEMBER, Dr. LIEBKNECHT (Social Democrat)—Is the Government, in case of corresponding readiness of the other belligerents, ready, on the basis of the renunciation of annexations of every kind, to enter into immediate peace negotiations?

SECRETARY OF STATE von JAGOW

—I believe that I shall meet the wishes
of the great majority of this House if I
decline to answer the question of the
member, Dr. Liebknecht, as at the present time injudicious. [Energetic storm of
"Bravos." Member Dr. Liebknecht
cries: "We want peace!" Resounding
merriment.]

There follows the second consideration of the supplementary statement of the costs of the war.

COUNT WESTARP, (Conservative,) bringing in the report-In the case of the loan which we last voted, a contribution of 200,000,000 marks was set aside for the nursing of maternity cases and for the support of the wounded and the unemployed. The Government has promised to increase this fund this time also. It has been raised chiefly for the support of maternity cases. Unemployment has not developed to such a degree that large sums have had to be applied for it, but this is always possible in the future. The commission has decided unanimously to recommend to you the granting of the loan. The commission is convinced that not one of our enemies is up to the present willing to give up the plan of annihilating Germany, to say nothing of being ready to make peace, on the basis of our just demands after this war which has been forced upon us. The commission considers the way proposed for raising the costs of the war satisfactory. It has

also convinced itself that our national economy is in a position to bear the newly proposed loan, and that in the furthest circles of the nation there exist the will and the joyful readiness to raise the loan. Greater sacrifices than the greatest financial sacrifices are made by our brothers in the field, offering their lives to save our fields from devastation. The whole German people is firmly determined, in this battle, so long as it lasts, to offer every further sacrifice, until we reach a peace which shall correspond to the just requirements of the security and the future of the German Empire. [Loud applause.] In the name of the commission, I ask for an acceptance of the measure before you which shall be as nearly as possible unanimous. [Applause on all sides.]

THE SPEECH.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY HELFFERICH: In itself the proposition before you needs no vindication nor proof. But, as we stand on the threshold of the second year of the war, we wish to give to the German people, to neutrals, and also to the world of our enemies, a picture of our financial situation. Up to the present, for war purposes, the Reichstag has granted 20,000,000,000 marks, (\$5,-000,000,000,) and with the present proposition the total will be 30,000,000,000, (\$7,500,000,000.) One has often the impression that in this war we have in some degree lost the sense of large figures. ["Quite right!"] We must seek new standards. The 20,000,000,000 marks granted so far represent approximately the value of the German railroad system, with all adjuncts, and the entire rolling stock. ["Hear, hear!"] In spite of this we already need an increase of the existent credits, in view of the enormous

and constantly increasing strain on all our powers in this inexorable battle for the life and future of our people. month the war devours the mighty sum of 2,000,000,000 marks, (\$500,000,000.) ["Hear, hear!"] This amount, which one month of war now costs, is a third higher than the entire cost of the war of 1870-71. [Loud cries of "Hear, hear! "] We wish to look these figures and the truth in the eyes unterrified. We shall consent to no self-deception as to the greatness of the undertakings which have yet to be performed, as to the weight of the sacrifices which have yet to be made. ["Quite right!"] It is a frightful time that is laid upon the German people and the whole world. We shall not meet this time with big words. [Assent on all sides.] We must be sober and come to a clear understanding that the second year of the war will be more difficult than the first. New problems stand before us, old problems become more difficult. But we must remember that the means which are necessary to carry the matter through become constantly greater than the means expended up to the present. However heavy all these problems may be, we shall not and can not draw back from them. The German people knew from the beginning of the war what sacrifices must be made in this war. Every German knows today also why these sacrifices are made and

THAT THEY WILL NOT BE MADE IN VAIN.

[Loud applause.] The best foundation for this proposition is the unanimous will of the people to prosecute the war to a victorious end, to a peace for which we can answer before ourselves, our children and grandchildren. [Loud applause.] But we are not so far yet that our enemies are compelled to declare themselves defeated; they are still struggling, although hard hit, against the thought that their cause is lost, that they may soon be compelled to save what can be saved and to offer us security for the future. So long as our enemies do not consent to draw the necessary consequences from our invincibility and from our victories, arms are our only means to convince them, [" Quite right! "] so long must and shall we make every sacrifice that the war imposes on us. For the raising of the credit now proposed, this time also the method of a loan will be taken. The grounds that I brought forward in March to show that war taxes, so long as this is practicable, should not be introduced continue to exist today. are unwilling to raise by taxation the heavy burden which our people bears so long as there is no imperious necessity for this. A heavier burdening of the consumer would, with the already high prices, be as great a mistake as a heavier burdening of commerce. The direct taxes will be raised hereafter in part in the separate States of the empire and will be followed up more strictly. Concerning the

WAR PROFIT TAXES

I can say this: In the conference of the Finance Ministers of the States of the empire, a fundamental unanimity of opinion was reached. It is a question of a proposed law, which must be thoroughly worked out in detail, for the matter is not yet so far matured. According to our view, the raising of such a tax -I say expressly raising-can only be carried on after the conclusion of the war, for only then will it be possible for those concerned to see clearly the financial changes which the war has brought to them. The Governments of the States of the empire are convinced that the establishment of the idea of war profit taxation without objection is a fiscal impossibility. And on the other hand, the confederated Governments are of the opinion that all those who, during the period of the war, in contrast with the great mass of their fellow-nationals, have been in a position to increase their means to a considerable degree, are also in a position, and under an obligation to contribute to the burden of the war in a larger degree than through the ordinary taxes. [" Bravo! "] Our leaning has been toward the imperial property increase tax. Property increase through inheritance from near relations shall remain free from taxation, and on this point there is complete harmony. special tax on war profits as a contribution to the cost of the war shall be payable not only in cash but also by war loan certificates. Therefore the expectation or apprehension of such taxation need keep no one from subscribing to the war loan. [Great hilarity.] All countries have had to have recourse to loans. Even England, which, in the first months of the war, proudly announced that war expenses would be financed to a considerable extent by taxation has now come to another view. It is well known that by raising the income tax, by the tax on beer and the tax on tea, England last Autumn covered only some 5 per cent. of the cost of the first year of the war. A second project was given up in the Spring of the present year, without noise or discussion. And if the Government takes under consideration the question of taxing wages, which have up to the present remained free from taxation, it meets with so much resistance that the fate of the undertaking cannot remain in doubt. If we wish to have the power to settle the terms of peace according to our necessities and our requirements, then we must not forget the question of cost. ["Quite right!"] We must have in view that the whole future life activity of our people, so far as this is at all possible, shall be free from burdens. [" Quite right! "]

THE LEADEN WEIGHT OF BILLIONS has been earned by the instigators of this war; in the future, let them, rather than we, drag them about after them. [Loud applause.] We know well that it is a question here of a problem of unusual difficulty, but everything that can be done in this direction will be done. ["Bravo!"] The granting of the war credit has as its counterpart the realization of this credit by the floating of the loan. The public knows that the issue of a third war loan is imminent. Our preparations are to a great degree made. In a few days an invitation to subscribe will appear in the newspapers. Toward covering the previous expenditures, there were also available the war treasure which was in existence before the outbreak of the war, and the balances of the Imperial Treasury. In the same manner the surplus of the account of the ordinary budget of the last fiscal year was devoted

to the same end. In March I estimated the surplus at 38,000,000 marks, but the final statement showed that it amounted to 219,000,000 marks. ["Hear, hear!"] That is a very fair sum, but for the further conduct of the war we need much more considerable means. The material forces which gave to the first two loans a result out of proportion to all expectations, are today as firm and strong as ever. The enormous sums which the empire required have remained almost wholly within the country, they have gone to our soldiers, to our agriculturists, to our industry, to both workmen and employers, and in part

HAVE BECOME A NEW RESERVE CAPITAL.

You can convince yourselves of this if you examine the development of our loan banks. At the time of the first large payment on the second war loan payments into the loan banks amounted to 1,500,000,000 marks and more. Payments from the loan banks amounted to 536,-000,000 marks in advances, which were devoted to the aim of making payments on the war loan. In the interval payments from the loan banks have diminished to 292,000,000 marks. This is not more than 3 per cent. of the total amount of the second war loan. [" Hear, hear! "] I wish our enemies would also say, "Hear, hear." [Laughter.] It is spread abroad by our enemies that the success of our war loans is only an illusion, that they are financed with bills of exchange of the loan banks. [Laughter.] I happen to have here The Daily Telegraph, a relatively decent sheet. ["Hear, hear!"] In it it is related that our loan banks accept everything that is brought to them, down to toothpicks and chafing dishes. [Laughter.] You may laugh at this, but you must also clearly understand that these systematically propagated calumnies, these depreciations of our financial position and of everything that happens in Germany, work great detriment to us in neutral lands, and it is altogether to our interest that this web of lies concerning our finances should be torn to pieces. ["Quite right!"] The German people may be proud of our savings banks. In 1913 their deposits increased a billion marks.

In 1914, in spite of the state of war, the deposits increased 900,000,000 marks, although considerable payments were made from the savings bank books on the first war loan. In the first six months of this year the increase amounted to almost a billion and a half marks. [" Hear, hear!"] Of course, the amount was almost wholly applied to payments of the war loan on the part of the savings banks, these payments amounting to 1,800,000,000 marks. But today it can be said that the savings banks are once more completely intact; they have a balance of 20,000,000,000 marks more than at any time previous to the outbreak of the war. Matters stand equally favorable with regard to the banks. Here, also, after the heavy payments made on account of the second war loan, capital has reached its former level, and even risen above it. The fluidity of money is a sign of financial strength and health, and to some degree it took the direction of Stock Exchange speculation. But a slight hint was sufficient to bring a check to this tendency and to broaden the understanding that there are better possibilities today for the use of money than speculations.

ALL MONEY BELONGS TO THE FATHERLAND.

War loan stock is now the best form of capital. [Applause.] Free activity on the Stock Exchange has hitherto in reality confined itself within certain limits, and the first warning brought it to full recognition. Now, in the case of the third war loan, we are going to bring all our forces into motion and action. To this end we have still further extended the organization which worked so well in the case of the first two loans. To begin with, we shall bring all the Post Offices of the empire into the work of subscription, and we shall also allow fractional payments to 100 marks for the small subscriptions under 1,000 marks. We further hope, after the good and effective examples of the last loan, to enlist the co-operation of employers, in order that they may facilitate the participation of their workers and employes, in small subscriptions. Further, we shall give out intermediate certificates, in order that the subscriber to the loan may

have something in his hands as soon as possible. The cessation of the issue of intermediate certificates in the case of the second loan caused undesirable situations. We shall enlist co-operation for the new loan to an even larger degree than in the case of the first two. But sensational advertisement, such as England employs in floating her war loans, we shall avoid. [Applause.] It does not suit German taste to involve the serious matter of war in circus advertisements. ["Quite right!"] And we do not need, as England does, to tell our subscribers that they are conferring a favor on the Fatherland when they subscribe for the loan. The German does not make presents or give alms to his Fatherland, but

HE FULFILLS HIS DUTY.

[Loud applause.] Instead, we shall, as hitherto, bring the widest possible circles into co-operation in the work of floating the loan; the representatives of the local Governments, the clergy, and, before all, we count on you, the chosen representatives of the people. The administration of imperial finance will support you to the utmost of its power. As far as concerns the interest on the new loan, we shall remain on the simple, straight path which has hitherto brought us such excellent results. The 5 per cent. war loan is the most genuinely national paper that Germany has ever had. ["Quite right!"] We shall only raise slightly the price of issue, thanks to our financial strength. For the rest, we shall leave experimenting with alluring financial tricks and sensational attractions to our opponents. The certain feeling of strength and power shows itself always in simplicity. [Applause.] We can be all the more proud of our financial situation when we look at it in comparison with the financial relations of our enemies. According to exact investigations, the total costs of this world war for all participants are estimated to run to about 300,000,000 marks (\$75,000,000) daily. [" Hear, hear! "] This makes about 8,000,000,000 marks a month, and for the year in round numbers,

ABOUT A HUNDRED BILLIONS.
["Hear, hear!"] This is the greatest de-

struction of values and dislocation of values that the world has ever seen. Of single countries, until a short time ago, Germany had borne the heaviest burden. But since then England has outstripped us. There the daily expenditures for war purposes have reached the total of £4,-000,000, that is, more than 80,000,000 marks. ["Hear, hear!"] We shall not grudge to England, which places so high the idea of the "record," this superiority, [laughter,] especially since the English themselves have the feeling that we are accomplishing more with smaller means. Only a short time ago a member of the English upper house said that he had the impression that a pound went further in Germany than three pounds in England. ["Hear, hear!"] I could give examples of the truth that in certain fields the Lord underestimated these relations to a noteworthy degree. newed cries of "Hear, hear!"] As to the totals of the two groups of belligerents, taken in round numbers, the expenditures fall as follows: To the coalition of our enemies fall nearly two-thirds of all expenditures, to us and our allies a little more than one-third of the cost of the war. ["Hear, hear!"] Of the belligerent countries, up to the present only Germany, England, and Austria-Hungary have covered an amount worth mentioning of their war costs by long-term consolidated loans. England has raised from 18,000,000,000 to 19,000,000,000 marks, of which some 12,000,000,000 to 13,000,000,-000 should be paid in. We stand today at a paid-up total of 13,000,000,000, and with the impending war loan, as I confidently hope, also with regard to subscriptions, and the sums assured for the prosecution of the war, we are ahead of every one. Our ally Austria-Hungary has a longterm loan of nearly 8,000,000,000 kroner (\$1,600,000,000) on the market, which, in view of the condition of industry, national wealth and national prosperity in Austria-Hungary,

DESERVES THE HIGHEST RECOGNITION.

[Loud cries of "Bravo!"] In order to make this clear to you, I compare France, which remains far behind the sums which I have hitherto named. The net return of her long-term loan, the Obligation de défense national, today hardly reaches 2,000,000,000 francs, (\$400,000,000,) something like one-quarter of what Austria-Hungary has up to the present done in the domain of long-term loans. All the rest of her financial war needs France has supplied by short-term credits, 8,000,-000,000 francs; she has borrowed 16,500,-000,000 francs from the Bank of France and, on very oppressive terms, has obtained a credit of 1,500,000,000 francs from England. Of Russia, Italy, and the smaller Entente powers I shall say nothing, for one should not be cruel without need even to one's enemies. [Loud laughter.] Not only with reference to the amount of the sums, but also the way in which they were raised, I think I can safely say that on this point also we have shown incontestable superiority. France,

THE LAND OF THE RENTIER,

has hardly, so far, got as far as a regular loan, the beforementioned obligations were not offered for subscription, but were gradually sold like Treasury certificates. Lately, interest-bearing paper certificates of 20 and 5 francs have been announced. From time to time they are wont to talk of future great consolidated loans, but France has always decided that the time for that had not come yet. And England, the land of 21/2 per cent. consols, tried first with a 31/2 per cent. loan, of which indeed 7,500,000,000 marks was subscribed; but the loan which was issued at 95 went down already on the first day below the price of issue, a sign that the loan was badly supported. In an hour of weakness the writer of The Times financial reports not long ago let out the fact that so much had been said about the brilliant result, that capitalists had not thought it necessary to show especial zeal, so that the great banks immediately before closing had to make special efforts in order to save the situation. But the English market was burdened with it, and no further headway could be made. The loan which should have lasted until the end of July, was used up by the end of March. They helped themselves out with Treasury exchanges, but the press of buyers remained absent. Only very recently have they again undertaken the emission of a great loan. Meanwhile

THE MAN OF "SILVER BULLETS," Lloyd George, has not found his confidence justified. The rate of interest was set at 41/2 per cent., which, together with the far-reaching rights of conversion, means an actual interest basis of more than 4 per cent. The loan which, according to the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, was to cover the war needs until March, 1916, has brought some £600,000,-000; this amount will have been used up by September. Even this result was only reached, for this I call The Times to witness, because the great banks decided on the last day-of course quite voluntarily [laughter]—to raise their subscriptions to twice the amount of the previous sums. In all, in round numbers £200,000,000 were subscribed by the banks, although the Chancellor of the Exchequer had shortly before declared that he did not want a bank loan, but wanted a national loan. To this course of things in France and England I place this fact as a contrast, that in our own case, with the two loans, the price never for a single day fell below the price of issue, but, on the contrary,

ALWAYS KEPT ABOVE THE PRICE OF ISSUE,

that we were able to issue the second loan at 1 per cent. higher than the first, and with the new loan we shall set the price of issue yet a little higher. then, the old proverb still has its meaning, that to make war you need money, then even our enemies will see how favorable our position is on the financial war stage also. If we consider the standard national securities in England, France, and Germany before the war, we shall find that the 3 per cent. French rente has fallen about 20 per cent., in England the 3½ per cent. consols touched a low mark of 65, and have since fallen even lower. Our German national securities, on the contrary, show a fall of only 8 to 9 per cent. So in this respect also we cut the best figure. ["Bravo!"] But here also our enemies have invented false pretenses to prove that we are bleeding to death. From time to time the London Stock Exchange quotes our 3 per cent. imperial loans. A short time ago the Stock Exchange quoted them at 491/2. [Laughter.] In vain did I put myself to great trouble, by circuitous ways through neutral foreign countries, to buy German Government loans at this excellent price. [Loud laughter.] Such an opportunity, I said to myself, would never return. [Renewed laughter.] But I did not succeed in obtaining a single stock certificate. [Prolonged laughter.] But such rates are not made for us, nor for the English, for they will not buy our paper, but for Messieurs the French. There the rate of 49½ is accepted with enthusiasm.

A further favorable sign for us is that the Imperial Bank has raised its gold stock more than a billion marks since the war began.

OUR GOLD RESERVE

is today 5.4 per cent. better than in England and about 8 per cent. better than in France, but in spite of this firmly established fact, untruths are sent abroad in foreign lands on this point also. Thus The Times wrote that the increase of the stock of gold of the Imperial Bank is due to the fact that we took over the stock of gold of the Austro-Hungarian banks. [Laughter.] Of course, we are helping our allies financially also; our German banks have helped the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to make certain financial transactions, in agreement with the direction of the empire; we have also in respect of the Turks, who are fighting so splendidly, [cries of "Bravo!"] fulfilled our financial duties as allies, and shall continue to do so. We have not haggled with our allies, we have not taken money from them. To regard our allies as objects of expropriation is not the German way; that we leave to the Britons. ["Bravo!"]

Now, as to our foreign rate of exchange. I took the trouble to show you earlier on what combination of circumstances our foreign rate of exchange rests. Things have not improved, but they have become no worse; the matter

stands in about the same condition as in the month of March. This after another half year of war is an advance, in spite of the common proverb that to be stationary is to recede. Meanwhile the derision of the French and the English on this point has disappeared. Proud England is fighting a doubtful battle to maintain the exchange of sterling against its ever-increasing depreciation. Recently it has gone down about 5 per cent. ["Hear, hear!"] In March the exchange value of France was still at par. Today 100 Swiss francs cost 110 French francs. In New York the depreciation is 16 per cent.; the French exchange is now worse than the German. But the French have a speedy consolation ready. The French Finance Minister Ribot has calmed the French in Paris with the following words: "There exists no deprecation of our credit; there are simply certain difficulties in paying." [Loud laughter.] According to the report, these words were received with general expressions of "Très bien!" [Renewed laughter.]

Now I come back to the chief and essential matter, to the root, which is
THE SECRET OF OUR SUCCESS ON
THE FINANCIAL STAGE.

The secret does not lie in what is generally called wealth. In this the British Empire, and per head of population, France also excel us. The wealth of Germany does not rest on savings, it much more truly embraces our entire commercial and technical apparatus. It consists above all in our people's power of work, employed in war and for the war. What the war has consumed, is not our money, it is the sum of war material and means of support, which our people now, thank God, on its own soil, by straining every energy, is able to produce ever anew. The money we use, we do not use up, it is with money as with the railroads which bring us the things we need. As the railroad cars roll along well filled to their destinations, so the money rolls out of the Imperial Bank, and flows back into it again by way of the war loans. Good financing is as important for the conduct of the war as a good railway system. But even the best railway system would be good for nothing, if there is nothing to transport, and the best money system is useless, if work does not produce the things which are needed to carry on the war. Where money rolls across the frontiers, in order to complete the war material and the supply of food, it does not roll back so easily, and interruptions occur, such as we see in the case of our opponents. If our enemies wish to repair their gold machine and study our example, this will only profit them when they can imitate the power of production of our industry, when they can imitate our workers and employers in every branch of production. And this they cannot do, they can do it as little as they can imitate our army. ["Quite right!"] Much more belongs to this than insight born of need. Thereto belong generations of co-operation, thereto belongs

AN IRON EDUCATION.

thereto belongs consciousness of duty and discipline, thereto belongs a nationality welded together by a history of millenniums. [Loud applause.] Against this nationality, the might and the malice of our enemies will be shattered. We carry the consciousness of victory within us. We feel the promise of victory redoubled within us in these days when, amid the thunder of our guns, enemy forts fall, where every one feels the approach of great decisions, where the wing-flapping of world history is audible in the smallest hut also. We know the nation is saturated with the consciousness and the will to exert and to apply all its forces, as well in the contest in the field, and in the fight against the forts, as in the war of industry. Therefore I hope that what you now grant, will be subscribed by the whole people. No one will exclude himself. They who have remained at home, will thereby contribute to bring us, by overwhelming successes, nearer to victory and to peace, the German peace which will perfect the work of 1812 and 1870, the peace which shall assure to us and to our allies a lasting security, a peace which shall control the passions of turbulent peoples, and give to the German Nation the warrant to maintain its place in the world, and to fulfill its mission. [Loud, long-continued applause.]

Human Documents of Battle

Personal First-Hand Experiences of Men At or Near the Front

Written in the hurry and confusion of the campaign, the subjoined personal accounts of experiences by soldiers and eyewitnesses at the front, while at times inaccurate and incomplete, convey in a unique manner the vivid details and atmosphere of the war—an atmosphere that must be lacking in the future histories of the conflict. Perhaps never in the wars of the past have the scenes of the clash of armies been brought so immediately and realistically before the eyes of the world. The letters from German soldiers appeared recently in the German press.

With the Turks on the Plains of Troy

From a German Officer's Letter

E rode toward our positions in the direction of Troy. The terrible uproar continued. Under special orders I took a ride along through the country. Those of the poor inhabitants who had still dared to remain in the villages on the coast now began their final and hasty retreat to the interior. Everywhere I met their carts loaded with their few belongings, the owners following on foot. I came to Tschiblak, a village in the neighborhood of the Trojan ruins. By the walls women and children were crowded in fear, huddled together immovable. I comforted as well as I was able their anxious spirits. Roundabout burst the shells. At every explosion a cry of fear from the natives, who believed the enemy coming ever closer. I had to ride on. Behind Troy then for several hours I watched with the telescope the stretches of coast. Finally, toward 4 o'clock, came orders to ride forward toward Kum Kaleh. We met long columns of Turkish infantry on the march, with artillery between and ammunition carts.

Finally, we safely found our way through the continual hail of shells and settled on a hill from which a good deal of the region in which the battle was being fought could be observed. From dispatch riders and returning officers we gathered details. * * * About a division had landed—French Colonial troops and Senegalese. They had come ashore in small boats and sought

to gain ground. * * * A portion of the Senegal negroes wanted to go over to their Turkish co-religionists and had hoisted a white flag. When the sign of surrender was noticed on the ships they fired from there into the ranks of their own fighters. So only a few succeeded in making their way to the side of the Turks. Those who came over told of preposterous tales. To give them enthusiasm for the war the English had told them the Turks had turned over to the Germans the Holy Places of Islam, Mecca, and Medina, and England with the Allies was about to bring the blasphemers to account and to win back these places so holy to the Moslems.

Kum Kaleh was stormed ten times, bloody street fights were continually taking place in which the bayonet played the chief rôle. Toward 9 o'clock, when the tumult had reached its height, the enemy was shooting like mad from his ships with high explosive shells and shrapnel, while two searchlights lit up the scene of battle as with daylight and searched the ground behind. I received orders to bring up a battalion standing ready at Troy and to guide it through the swampy Meander plain toward Kum Kaleh. It was an adventurous ride in the pitch-dark night; roads there were hardly at all, and we had to ride by guess. Finally, I safely reached my destination, and, more quickly than I had expected, put the battalion on the march and led it to the battlefield. No decision

had been reached when I arrived there at midnight. * * *

In the course of the afternoon of the next day the first prisoners came in—French territorials, including a Captain and negroes. The Captain had fought in Flanders, then in Southern Alsace. One thing could be gathered from the equipment found with wounded and prisoners, that the whole expedition had been fitted out to the smallest detail with all possible means. Preserves in great quantities, faultless clothing and durable footwear,

folding wire entanglements, all sorts of engineering tools, immense masses of wine and foodstuffs. Even strong Flanders horses had been brought ashore. Especially excellent were the maps. * *

Toward evening came more booty and the joyful news that the enemy had been finally defeated, and, leaving hundreds of dead, had fled to his ships. As far as possible they had taken the fallen Frenchmen with them, leaving the negroes, apparently without exception.

Attack on the Heights of the Meuse

A German Soldier's Letter from the Field

WHAT has happened here in recent days you know from the newspapers, but the meagre words of the chief command give after all only a very incomplete conception of the notable work done here.

The preparations had been completed. On the 24th of April at noon the dance was to begin. At 5 o'clock in the morning the batteries began their fire; from 10 to 11 heavy effective shooting was carried on in slow rhythm. From 11 to 12 deep quiet. Sharply at 12-away! Mortars, heavy and light field howitzers, field guns bellow all at once in salvos and an iron hail falls on the foremost trenches while other field batteries direct their fire behind these positions so that nothing shall be allowed to escape. Until 12:20 all the guns fire for all they are worth. When you consider that even the more slowly working heavy howitzers during these twenty minutes fired 250 shots (as a battery) you can get some weak conception of this lovely rain of shells. Sharp on the dot of 12:20 the fire is transferred to the second line, sharply at 12:30 to the third, and after another twenty minutes behind the third, or, rather, that was how it was intended to be. But things came differently. I must explain here that we, that is, the chief of artillery, (my General,) has direct wires to the general command, to the chief command of the army, and to all points issuing commands to the infantry. Their ends all come together in our little room where orders are given.

MEUSE HEIGHTS.

I sit at the telephone:

"12:20—Our infantry moves to attack."

Every one is keyed up to the utmost. Will they get through with one rush? Will they get to close quarters? Will the ten minutes be sufficient for the second line of the enemy, usually the most to be feared? All this flashes like lightning through the brain.

The bell rings.

"12:24—The regiment has taken the first trench!"

A lighting up of all faces, but yet they repress the flame of joy that is ready to spring up.

"12:32—The enemy clears out of the second trench!"

"12:35—Our infantry is pressing into the second line."

Now here and there a "Hurrah" can hardly be held back.

"12:44—Our infantry has reached the third trench. Lay the fire ahead." "12:50—The third trench is taken."

"12:52 (report of the artillery observer who accompanies the storming troops and carries the telephone forward

with him)—I cannot get forward in the sap. Everything is filled with prisoners!"

"12:52—Transfer the fire ahead 500 meters; our men are not to be held!"

And now the excitement breaks loose. Hurrah, and again hurrah.

That's how our field-grays storm! Five months of work building defenses against them and in twenty minutes these splendid fellows were through. The artillery, according to unanimous opinion, had made first-class preparation, and

his Excellency said, beamingly: "The wire entanglements hung in the trees!" And then comes the report that makes the artilleryman feel his heart leap:

"12:59—We have the first two guns."

"1:20—Send forward six limbers to take away captured cannon!" And so it went on. Total result of the first day that brought us nearly to the edge of the heights: 1,600 prisoners, 17 guns. The losses on this day were comparatively light, as the enemy was completely swamped in the rush.

Epinal

A German Letter from the Front

ORE than nine months now we have been in the enemy's country. Nine months! We have seen the harvest brought in, in part also go to ruin. Gradually the Winter came. Snow and ice spread over our paths and the trenches. It was a hard time for man and horse, but it had its good side. You became accustomed to the Winter positions, and it was fairly quiet, both with friend and foe. Then came the Spring sweeping through the land. The frozen crust of Winter broke and new life entered nature and man. Spring and war; the month of May with its "become!" the war with its destruction. What contrasts! I find this the most trying time for the nerves.

There is bloom, and fragrance, and chirping, and the renewing of life everywhere. Never before did the Spring seem so glorious to me. We city people perhaps have hardly had the opportunity so to observe it and marvel at it. Instinctively one clings more intensely to this beautiful earth. And therefore one has no joy of one's life. Who guarantees from one second to another this gloriously bloming tree? Perhaps it will strike you, you building red-throats under our eaves. Perhaps that pioneer so exuberant in strength who there chats with the young Frenchwoman, perhaps her, per-

baps you, before you have finished writing these lines.

And as I happened to be speaking of the Frenchwoman-it is a thing to marvel at how these people here have accommodated themselves to their posi-And, what is this of Epinal? I do not know the place, but I remember still from school it is a French city, or a fortress. I believe that since that time, some fifteen years ago, I have hardly ever heard the name or read it. Then came the war. Soon we were on the soil of France. There was talk here and there. You asked the women and girls about their husbands, sons, and brothers. "A Epinal." And I ask them still to-"Epinal, Epinal!" And Autumn came and Winter and it has become Spring again and they hold fast to their Epinal, as if those were there on an excursion or a business trip. For nine months none here has heard a word. And they believe them all there. How different with us! These people here hear nothing but German; only among themselves perhaps they gossip and guess and know nothing of losses and mischance and of all theirs. Only the men in field gray they see coming and going, these men in field gray who help them plow their fields and sow them, build their streets and convert their manure piles into gardens. And if perchance they hear their own bells ringing because of a German victory, they shrug their shoulders in disbelief. They surely believe that, through accident, this little piece of earth that is their own alone is occupied by the enemy.

The Spring came and the Summer is advancing, and the day of peace will come, some time or other, overnight, perhaps. What an awakening will that be in France! After the war the French garrisons and the trenches will open and then homeward will wend what remains of this France, poor in men even without this. And the mothers, sisters, brides, will stand then in the streets and wait for those whom they imagined in Paris, Lyons, Belfort, and who do not come. And see those who are com-

ing, with sticks and crutches, and those that must be brought in carriages. Then will the eyes of these poor ones be opened.

The day will come! Who of us will live to see it? In any event it will be well if we do not live to see it here. I would not like to be present when they stand here and wait for those from Epinal—of whom so many even from the war's beginning, scattered in field and forest, the earth covers, on whose common graves German fellow-feeling has erected a wooden cross bearing words such as these:

"Here lie 150 brave French soldiers of the regiments ——
Erected by German comrades of the ——
regiment."

A. N.

A Frankfort Boy

A German Letter from the Field

7 HEN I came back wounded from France and lay in the hospital at Sachsenhausen they brought me a newspaper in which was told of a man of the Landwehr who had captured thirty Russians and who asserted he had "surrounded" them all. With my fellow-sufferers there I laughed over it. If then I could have imagined that I myself would succeed in such an "encircling" I certainly should have had doubts about it. And when I tell you that with two men I captured 210 Russians and a baggage train of 30 wagons and four field kitchens!-well, in short, I'll have to tell you how it happened. It was before Eydtkulmen; had been with my two men all night in the saddle, with 18 degrees of cold, and an empty stomach, riding on a stiff trot toward Deeden, when about 200 meters before me I suddenly see Russians coming out of all the houses; two houses the rascals had just set afire. At the first house I halt and take cover, as several shots fall. Suddenly three Russians come running around the house directly into my arms; my revolver points out to

them where they are to put their weapons. Luckily for me there was one of them who spoke German, and I yell at him to go at once to his men and to say that I have in the near-by forest five machine guns and Uhlans at my disposal who will at once open fire on the column if another shot falls from their side. He quickly calls out to his men in Russian what I have said, and just as quickly they throw away all arms. While I am occupied with the prisoners shots again fall, and I see 150 meters away by the side of a cemetery a trench with about another 30 men. I left the prisoners in charge of my two men and had the baggage train which was standing in the field under protection drive up on to the highway, helping them along with revolver and lance. On a trot I drove toward Evdtkulmen; just before this place I came to the - Division, to which I turned over the train. The Major to whom I delivered the 30 wagons and the field kitchens could hardly believe me, but when soon thereafter my two men with the column of 210 prisoners arrived he congratulated me and presented me to the commander of the - Division.

Horrors of the Dukla Pass

By Alden Brooks

The following episodes are described in recent Bucharest correspondence of Alden Brooks to The New York Times, headed "In the Backwash of Austria's Army."

E reached a small village called Szvidnik, where there was a long stretch of grass beside the road upon which the cattle could graze, and where every one could take a rest before mounting up at last steeply over the hills.

We looked into the windows of several of the houses. Everywhere we met the stare of silent wounded Russians lying on straw and mattresses. Further on was a little chapel flying a red cross on the relic of its roof. Inside every available vard, right up to the altars, was covered with these same miserable wounded Russians. They had been there for over a week now without proper care. We wandered among them. The air was very foul; there were flies; there were a few stifled groans here and there, and it was all very sad. A few were asleep, a few were in pain, a few were dying, a few were already dead; but the great majority lay there staring silently with curious, sleepless eyes. One of them suddenly began to whisper to me in broken German. He spoke with tears of six bullets in him and his right leg broken. Could I get him a piece of paper to put over his head and keep off the flies? It was the least I could do.

There was a priest outside, a stout, amiable man. All these, it seemed, would probably die, gangrene was so far advanced in every instance. Removing them was a mere matter of form, and in any case a long undertaking. There was the Austrian and German wounded to be cared for first. We drove the cart under a tree in a sort of garden and ate bread and sausages, bought in Bartfa. There were some soldiers close by, sitting around a fire. They were arguing about something, and, just after we had sat down, two of them began to go for each

other in earnest, one an Austrian, the other a German. The German was getting the best of it when there suddenly appeared a young German Lieutenant.

A loud inquisition followed. In the end the Austrian was led off and tied to a tree to stay there until sunset. As for the German, since he was the aggressor, he was ordered to remove his uniform, boots, everything except his trousers. Then, hands tied behind his back, he was brought before the Lieutenant. Before I half realized what had happened, the Lieutenant drew his sword and rammed it violently into the man's stomach. There was an agonizing scream, and the man fell to the ground. It was the most dastardly brutal act I have ever seen. Yet no one said a word. On the contrary, a great silence fell upon the company and every one was of a sudden off about his business, while two of them took a spade, and, scooping up a bit of earth, buried the poor wretch. As for the young monster of a Lieutenant, he came over to a pump near us, and, after wiping his sword carefully upon the turf, washed his hands, then stood there idly and cleaned his finger nails.

From Szvidnik to the Dukla Pass the road curved up rapidly. The forests were torn and burned with shot and shell. Here were more scenes of violent struggle, trees fallen across the road, and now roughly shoved aside, rudimentary trenches, abandoned artillery caissons, two or three cannon with broken wheels, and soon bloated, mangled horses, legs in the air, and finally the dead. They lay there to right and left, Russians for the most part, some dead in a last agony, their fingers clutching the air; others in the gutter, where they had crawled to die, blackened face buried on an arm; others killed in full action, legs



ARCHDUKE CHARLES STEPHEN OF AUSTRIA
Who May be Proclaimed King of New Poland
(Photo © by American Press Assn.)



ARCHDUKE KARL FRANZ JOSEF
Heir-Presumptive of Austria-Hungary. Emperor Franz Josef Celebrated
His Eighty-fifth Birthday on August 18
(Photo from P. S. Rogers)

tense, still striving, an extended hand clutching a broken rifle.

We drove on. Mile upon mile of such sights. There came a jagged promontory of rock near the road. The Hungarian seized my arm and pointed up.

" Look there."

"What?"

"Lammergeier!"

And as he spoke two huge vultures flew heavily over our heads, only to perch on a rock lower down.

"Ah, that must be it," he said, pointing now to a road running parallel to ours on the other side of a bit of ravine, "the road to the Beinhaus I heard them speaking of."

As I could see no Beinhaus, or charnel house, he went on to explain that there was an old abandoned salt mine near by and that they were throwing the dead into it, as the quickest and simplest way of being rid of them. The road soon joined ours, and at the junction was a cross, and upon it a haggard, weather-beaten Christ. Here we met three large hay wagons coming down the hill. We gave them the right of Each was packed with dead bodies, hands and arms and feet falling over the sides or jutting out through the bars. We watched them joggle down the by-road to the salt mine. Suddenly one of the bodies tumbled off the top of the first cart. There were shouts and oaths exchanged between the first and second wagons; but the body lay where it had fallen. Finally, the last wagon stopped and two soldiers pitchforked it up on top of the others.

"A soldier's burial," murmured the Hungarian.

Lieutenant Hanot's Feat

AMONG a recent batch of French officers decorated with the Legion of Honor figures the name of Sub-Lieutenant Hanot. The Journal Officiel gives the following brief description of the feat of arms for which the distinction was conferred on him:

"Conveying an order to the line of fire, and passing an enemy outpost, discovered seventeen Germans in a dug-out; ordered them to surrender, and brought them into the French lines marching the goose-step."

The incident occurred a few weeks ago. Lieutenant Hanot, while threading his way between the trenches which the French had just captured, lost his bearings, and inadvertently went beyond the first line of French trenches. He was immediately assailed by a hail of bullets.

Seeing that he could only escape by a miracle, the young officer resolved to sell his life dearly, and rushed forward with drawn revolver. By chance he stumbled into the German communication trench, and the first man to bar the way was the officer commanding the sec-

tion. The Frenchman blew the man's brains out. Behind the German officer were three or four soldiers, who offered no resistance when ordered to throw up their hands.

"I have a battalion with mitrailleuse behind me," cried the Frenchman in excellent German, "and if but one of you moves I will have you all exterminated."

Thereupon from the next communication trench emerged, one by one, a dozen or more German soldiers, their hands in the air. "Pardon, pas kaput!" they begged.

Not a little surprised, and somewhat uneasy all the same, the French officer debated within himself what he should do with his captives. It was no easy thing to get the seventeen prisoners to the French lines unless he could maintain their belief in the battalion close by.

After a second's hesitation, the Lieutenant ordered them all out of the trench, made them fall down flat on the edge of the parapet, and then told them to go forward in bounds on all fours in order to escape the bullets which swept the

900 yards separating them from the French lines.

When they were nearing the French outpost guard he gave them the order to march at the goose-step, and the Germans obeyed immediately, raising their legs in their best parade manner, to the huge amusement of the French officers and soldiers, who could hardly believe their eyes when they realized that these seventeen prisoners had been captured by one man.

A British Recruiting Scene

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

Tedged my way into the crowd. A tall, sunburnt soldier was talking quietly in serious tones. He leant over a raised desk with his stick in his hands. A Union Jack hung from a pole by his side. He was sparing of gesture. The homely image was the weapon upon which he relied, with a word or two of slang for ornament. Latin's dead. He had no tricks—the words came from the living mouth—he had looked into hell. The crowd grew and grew.

He was calling for recruits, and spoke of men who hung back.

"Shirkers," shouted a woman.

"Well, that's one name for 'em-I've heard worse than that though. Ohd haven't they got any imagination? I'm sure if they could but see the sights I've seen they'd come rollin' up-aye, rollin' up-wreck and ruin wherever you lookfire and brimstone all that there-dead and livin' all mixed up of a heap-men, horses, sheep, cattle-you should have seen 'em when the floods went down all a hangin' over the tangled wire-then you'd feel what I feel," with just one bang of his great fist on the desk. "Now -listen-you hear lots say they should be made to go-I'm not 'ere to talk politics-but this is a free country, and I don't want conscription for one-now you're never goin' to wait till they come and fetch you! "-throwing his head and shoulders back till you could hear them crack.

Then a band came marching by with a crowd behind it, and the roll of the drums made our flesh creep.

But the music only raised his scorn and bitter ire. He paused. The strains died away.

"Oh! yes-it's all right when the band

plays!—it sounds fine, don't it?—it makes you want to knock somebody down-like when you see the soldiers at the Picture Palace and they plays 'Rule, Britannia' on the pianny-then you wave yer hats and handkerchers and give 'em a cheer. Oh! yes, I know-like when you sit at home by the fire with your slippers on-(there's no slippers in the trenches-you never get your boots off-there's lots o' fire though) -and read the fine stories in the papers-and then you say, 'We've done well today '- 'We've done well 'like that- 'We've done well '-and these are the men who stop comfortably at home and pinch the jobs of them as is fightin' the battles for 'em-pinch their jobs-aye!-they'd pinch the missus if she'd let 'em-a general roar of laugh-

"Not me," shouted a woman; "and he's left five little 'uns behind 'im "—one in her arms.

"We'll take care of 'im," said the soldier gravely; "but this is not a pantomime. I'm not here to make you laugh—but, I tell you, Charley Peace was a gentleman compared with some I know. Why, a cat's got more conscience—a cat'll pinch the bloater off of the table when your back's turned, but when you look around and find it's gone, there she is, a-washin' of her face, and a-starin' up at you like as if she owned up to it and couldn't help it."

"Oh! you young men, think of France and Belgium! think of the men who are layin' down their lives by the thousands and thousands so that you shall sleep safely in your beds! think of the Lusitania! think of the gassin'—I tell you, we're up against a reptile. What do you do with reptiles?—stamp on 'em—crush

the life out of 'em?"—and his hands met like cymbals.

Then he quickly surveyed the crowd, resting against the pole and clutching the Union Jack.

"Now—who's comin'?—I'm not goin' to single out anybody—that wouldn't be fair, and we don't do it—but there's men of military age here and physically fit, I'm sure. Now, who's goin' to be first—you can be sworn in at the hut there right away—then you've only got to pass the doctor. You'll be in khaki this time tomorrow. Give the men in the trenches a rest—they come home to be patched up

and have to go back again—give 'em a rest, I say! Now—hallo! here's one—[cheers]—another—come along, my lad—another—I thought you was all right—and another," with a girl on his arm blushing furiously, but proud of him—and so the cockades were busy.

It is such a lovely evening, but war broods like a horrid shape over all.

The sun sets over the tree-tops—a blood-red. Half a silvery moon hangs in the eastern skies—a splintered shell. The mighty pulse of London throbs in our ears—the booming of great guns.

The Blonde Beast

By HAROLD BEGBIE.

[From The London Daily Chronicle.]

Everything which is desperately immoral, being in its constitution monstrous, is of itself perishable.—Wordsworth.

The stars standing over the sea
In the depths of the night,
The moon making darkness to be
More lovely than light,
The sun surging upward in flame
From the waves and the sky,
Endure as their legions of shame
Go bloodily by.

For the patience of God is above,
And the beauty of life;
The stars know the lasting of love
And the passing of strife;
And there shall be joy in the way,
And delight in the hour,
And their hosts shall be dust in that day,
And their seed without pow'r.

They are trampling on cities and lands
To the guilt of their goal,
There is innocent blood on their hands,
And a lie in their soul;
The sea is made foul by their breath,
And the earth is a tomb;
But the stars are their coursers to death
And the sun to their doom.

They have chosen the charter of rage,
They have taken the sword;
They have torn from God's Writing the
page
Of the love of the Lord;
They are Murder and Rapine and Lust,
They are Madness and Pride,
And Him who wrote love in earth's dust
They have jostled aside.

They are rushing from slaughter to God
Like the swing of a bell,
Each beat of the clock is a rod
That fast flogs them to hell.
They shall find not one hour of all time,
Nor one point in all space
To escape from the anguish of crime
And the loss of God's grace.

No joy evermore in the day,
And no peace in the night,
Shall be theirs as they tremble away
From humanity's sight,
As they reel from the light of the sun,
And the welcome of man,
And drop from the web they have spun
To eternity's ban.

And the earth shall return to her peace
And mankind to their goal,
And the love of the heart shall increase,
And the strength of the soul;
And the world shall be glad with great
glee
In the goodness of right,
With the stars standing over the sea
In the depths of the night.

Latin America as It Is Today

By Julius Moritzen

The changes wrought by the great war in the economic and political structure of the South and Central American nations, their closer relations with the United States as an outgrowth of the European conflict, and the Latin-American republics as new factors in world affairs are dealt with succinctly in the subjoined review.

NY present consideration of Latin America in its relation to other countries and to the stirring events abroad must include Mexico, although Mexico constitutes a problem by itself. While it is true that the existing chaos below the Rio Grande antedates the great war, and while the economic and political status of the neighboring republic has been lowering without any reflex pressure from the titanic struggle across the Atlantic, yet the Mexican situation is closely interwoven with the affairs of all the nations in the Western world. That leading republics in South and Central America so consider it is apparent from the several conferences in Washington and New York with the purpose of aiding Mexico in putting her topsy-turvy house in order.

One need not assume the rôle of seer to affirm that, just as the first clash of arms abroad marked the coming of a new era in Europe, so the Latin-American people are destined to play an increasingly important part in much that will concern the well-being of the Americas as a whole in the future. That the advanced positions of the leading nations in South and Central America are due in a large degree to co-operative effort with the United States only accentuates the new spirit that now possesses the West-

ern Hemisphere; a spirit wholly constructive and healing in its intent.

The great European war revealed with startling suddeness the interdependence of nations in every part of the globe. Let be for the moment that certain countries appear self-sustaining, that the horrors of warfare apparently have left the people in these specific lands comparatively untouched in respect to means of subsistence. No fallacy could be more cruelly deceptive than to insist that such a state of affairs can continue for an indefinite length of time. As for the neutral nations, and particularly those of South and Central America, despite momentary demands for products of their soil, the catastrophe abroad disarranged their entire financial and commercial machinery. It was left for the Pan-American conference held in Washington in May to show to what an extent Latin America was made to suffer as a result of the European madness. It was also the purpose of that noteworthy conference, participated in by men identified with great enterprises throughout the American republics, to devise ways and means whereby a new order of things might prove the saving clause in a situation fraught with momentous consequences.

A Congress for Solidarity

THE calling of the Pan-American Financial Conference at the joint instance of President Wilson and Secretary of the Treasury William G. Mc-Adoo was an event of such historic importance that it must be left to time to measure adequately its full value to the

Latin-American republics and the United States. Preliminary, as it were, the work begun at Washington a few months ago is already bearing fruit. In recently expressing their thanks for the warm welcome extended to their representatives as the guests of the American Govern-

ment, the Presidents of the southern nations as with one voice declared their readiness to co-operate that the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere might be an example to the whole world. The coming return visit to South and Central America, of financiers of the United States, unquestionably will give further impetus to that movement which, as President Victorino de la Plaza of Argentina expressed himself in his cablegram to President Wilson, is "stimulating the economic bonds necessary for their mutual development," meaning the various republics of America.

In estimating to what an extent Latin America has suffered as a result of the war in Europe and how the rehabilitation of trade and traffic may be brought about, whether it concerns present and future relations with the United States. or with the European powers now engaged in conflicts basing their very existence as powers, it is essential that geographical conditions be considered. What applies to Argentina and Brazil, for instance, does not necessarily have the same important bearing on the west coast countries of South America. Generally speaking, however, the effect of the world war has been identically depressing. The rebound also is gradually introducing a more satisfactory condition in the business affairs of all Latin America. It remains to be seen how the appearance of the United States as an element for greater buying and selling among South Americans is working a change in countries formerly almost wholly depending upon Europe for their capital. Central America may be eliminated from the present consideration, not because European money is not plentifully invested there, but because much closer relations have existed for some years between these five republics and the United States than between the latter and South America. It is, however, necessary to add that as a considerable purchaser of South American products the United States has been chiefly deficient in purveying to these countries. Europe's predominance as salesman has been due to the fact that trade in times past has had the habit of following investment of capital. The bankers of London, Berlin, Paris, and other financial centres abroad opened up South America to itself, hence exploitation left a dependence upon them unfortunately not always of greatest advantage to the South Americans. Mexico sometimes cited as an instance where United States investment, under circumstances not always too exacting, has become its own boomerang. alike distasteful to capitalists and those the money was meant to partly benefit.

South America's Money Question

THE South American banking situation is so complex that it reacts into every avenue of economics and politics. Demands of growing countries for funds, the necessities of foreign trade, the requirements of speculation have created all manner of banks, trust companies, investment, mortgage, loan, and brokerage companies, not to mention the ever-present exchange merchant. The money question of all Latin America is a hydraheaded monstrosity whose recurrent mischief making never worked greater harm than when the European war broke out. The decline in pounds sterling, so vexa-

tious to financial interests in England and the United States, was as a drop in the ocean to what at times happens to the money values of some Latin-American countries. To stabilize these moneys was one of the chief functions of the Pan-American Financial Conference.

The opening up of branch banks of the National City Bank in some of the leading cities of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, and the possibility that other American financial institutions will follow suit, may be considered entering wedges to that greater business development looked for between the United

States and South America. To the extent that American capital enters the southern field, to that extent may it be expected that European bankers will relax their hold on South America. Let there be no anticipation that because of the present world war, financial interests abroad are likely to exclude themselves permanently from South America. At this very moment there is the keenest rivalry to be prepared to extend operations in Latin America. The minute the war ends there will be a revival of efforts to capture more and more of the trade in the southern republics. What other meaning is contained in the French commercial mission to Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay or the formation of the German Economy Association for Central and South America, with Dr. Bernhard Dernburg as its President? Has it been overlooked that Japan has started a commercial propaganda in Chile, with a view to meeting Europe on its own field of selling cheaply? These are facts the United States exporters must take into consideration now that this opportunity is present to deal more largely with the southern neighbors. It will be a battle royal for a trade well worth the struggle and the outlay in time and money. The real fight will begin when Europe signs its treaty of peace.

Now, as to the position of South America fourteen months ago. It is quite well known that a serious financial crisis has existed in some of the South American countries for the last few years. Brazil was sinking deeper and deeper under its load of indebtedness. Argentina, more elastic in its commercial structure, while no less in need of money, found means to tide over the difficulty as occasion demanded. A similar

story could be told relative to the other republics in South America. The national strong boxes were depleted, if not entirely empty. The respective Governments were confronted with conditions that made the office of Minister of Finance no easy task. Money was decidedly scarce everywhere. With collateral the richest that any soil could produce as nature's bounty, yet South America only grudgingly found the purse strings unloosen to satisfy its wants. High interests, besides, were additional penalties where loans were at all obtainable.

Then came the war. This proved the climax where all things had conspired to produce a depressing financial outlook. Money from European sources was not to be thought of now. Brazil, about to negotiate a large loan with French banking interests, saw that avenue of relief cut off at once. To make matters worse, ocean traffic came to a temporary halt on account of the presence of the German fleets in both the Atlantic and the Pacific waters. Fear seized the shippers of Brazilian coffee and rubber, Argentina packing interests. Chilean nitrate exporters, producers of cacao in Ecuador, and copper and tin mining concerns in Peru and Bolivia. Except for the trade in coffee between Brazil and the United States and Argentina's increased shipments of beef to northern ports, few vessels left South American ports during the early months of the war, when German men-of-war scoured the oceans for When finally the Atlantic was prey. cleared of the raiders traffic took a new spurt. As a result, the financial cloud began to lift slowly. At the present time it may be said with confidence that the worst is over.

"America for the Americans"

IT was a positive stroke of international genius when Secretary McAdoo invited the Latin-American republics to participate in a conference the purpose of which should be to talk the situation over as between country and country.

Here for the first time it can be said that the United States and South and Central America found each other. It was an opportunity seldom offered where the well-being of a whole continent, so to speak, was at stake. At Washington was discussed also the existing need for better transportation facilities with the ports to the southward. It is immaterial to the real purpose in view whether the respective Governments or private capital furnish the necessary means for carrying the proposed plan for increased traffic facilities to completion. Without more and faster steamers plying up and down the coasts of North and South America, without the closer connection that transportation alone can furnish, the Pan-American question of solidarity must remain a vague something that looks well enough in theory, but which lacks that practical stamp which alone is entitled to the name success. All this South America realizes today more keenly than at any time in its economic history.

Because certain steamship companies in Europe continue to run their vessels to South America, this is not enough to warrant the belief that the situation from now on is clear. The United States has entered into the life of the South American republics for weal and woe. There can never again be that distance in economic and political relations as characterized the countries concerned before the European war. Henceforth the slogan "America for the Americans" takes on an actual meaning. It is not for nothing that eighteen Chief Executives of Latin America cable President Wilson their appreciation of this new-found friendship that tells the world of the continent whose neutrality stands unimpeachable despite agencies that would wreck this neutral attitude that will mean so much to the future of the nations everywhere. When it becomes possible to travel, as travel demands are today between South America and the United States, then the interrelation between the Governments and the people will be as important to the nations as a whole as it is necessary to the trade operations between the various countries to have more and quicker ships for both freight traffic and passengers.

At its nearest calculation, Brazil alone

has an area of 3,292,000 square miles, figures better appreciated when it is said that this South American republic is larger than the United States, fifteen times larger than Germany, and sixteen times larger than France. The immensity of this territory is cited in the present instance to show the impossibility of presenting in a single article all the phases and features having to do with South America in its reawakened activity and response to outside influences. In the same way, Argentina, progressive, growing in population faster than any other country outside the United States, has in that wonderful City of Buenos Aires enough to rivet the attention of the traveler for months, as well as to furnish material for columns upon columns of printed matter. A city with more than one million and a half of population, with a subway that outrivals other metropolitan centres in point of construction and management, a city where opera is given under auspices unequaled anywhere, where the people live in an atmosphere of constant advancement, such is Buenos Aires, on the River Plate.

On the other hand, so much of South America remains still a no man's country, such vast regions yet await the settler, so many opportunities lie buried in that wonderfully fertile soil, those mountains rich in minerals of every kind, that one is unable to even hint at what these republics will be like when, with the coming years, the ingenuity of man and the demands of the world will unchain the latent forces of the South American tropics. That more and more Latin America will enter into the economic plan of the Old World and the New. that at the end of the European war immigration may here set a new highwater mark, are possibilities evident enough from all that has taken place in such proximity to the United States, while North Americans, but a few years ago, scarcely knew their South American fellow-men except by name.

South American Sympathies

HEN it is said, that, following an early declaration of neutrality. South America has maintained its neutral attitude ever since, there ought to be added that the Governments' strict interpretation of international obligations has found the press and the public independent in their sympathies. People living in the United States have no conception of what the European outbreak meant to South America at the beginning, and the diffculty of adjusting ordinary affairs of life to the changed order of things. Let it be remembered that in Argentina, instance, Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards are present in large numbers. The German element here, as elsewhere in South America, has been an important factor in the industrial progress of the country. Yet the war abroad has spelled little less than disaster to many Germans in Argentina. There is no denying the fact that the Argentines are overwhelmingly favorable toward the Entente powers. The newspapers show it constantly. Belgium found no greater champions during its invasion than the press of Buenos Aires. The Allies' cause, despite the rigid attitude of the Government of Argentina, notwithstanding repeated appeals for greater moderation in expressions of the press, also is the cause of the greater part of these South Americans. What with the large number of Italians resident in Buenos Aires, Italy's entrance into the war made Argentina's sympathy for the Allies more emphatic than be-

Argentina, more so than any other South American republic, has drawn upon Europe for its varied population. Brazil, while originally developed through Portuguese admixture, is more largely peopled with Germans than any other country in South America. That a considerable portion of the Brazilian population leans toward the Teutonic cause is a very natural state of affairs in view of the fact that some of the States are settled with natives of Germany. Here the German language takes prece-

dence over Portuguese in the schools and home circle. In Rio de Janeiro, however, both the Government and the public maintain a rather undeviating neutrality. The leading newspapers, headed by the Jornal do Commercio, espouse the Entente cause. The fact that Dr. Lauro Muller, the Foreign Minister of Brazil, is of German parentage may or may not have something to do with Rio de Janeirans showing less antipathy to Germany than is the case in Argentina. Dr. Muller will be remembered for his visit to the United States a few years ago. He is one of the ablest statesmen in South America.

AN AMERICAN TRIPLE ENTENTE.

This brings us to what is generally known as the A B C alliance of South America. As fate would have it, the alphabet has been instrumental in ranging the three most important nations in Latin America under a common termination which is simplicity itself. The A B C powers of South America! is here a resonance that spells Triple Alliance, Entente! The newspapers are beginning to fill with the doings of the Argentine, Brazilian, and Chilean nations. Solidarity is believed to be the underlying motive for the coming together of these three republics. Twice in the diplomatic dealings of the United States has the A B C combination figured as a conspicuous element. In both instances Mexico was concerned, and on both occasions-at Niagara Falls when the Huerta insult to the American flag was the issue, as well as more recently with the appeal to the various factions across the border-disinterestedness marked the appearance of the representatives of Argentina, Brazil and Chile in a matter where the Mexican civil strife was considered the affair of all America. That Bolivia and Guatemala were invited to take part in the conferences presided over by Secretary of State Lansing gives emphasis to the declaration that Mexico's interests were the chief concern of all the republics.

Whether or not too much importance is being attached to the recent meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, the fact is patent that it was more than a social affair that called Señores Muller, Murature, and Lira together. There is no public record that any signed agreement between the three countries has come into existance as a result of the visits to Buenos Aires and Santiago. That a treaty actually was signed is the current report in the capitals of the countries interested. Possessing effective navies, their armies drilled and equipped on European the Governments headed lines. de la Wenceslao Victorino Plaza, Braz Gomez, and Ramon Luce, respectively of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, constitute a united body of political consequence to Europe and the rest of America providing an alliance for whatever purpose has been agreed on.

It is not to be overlooked that in certain sections of Latin America the reported entente between Argentina, Brazil, and Chile is looked at askance. The question is already being asked whether any such combination as that outlined may not prove a menace to the independence of the smaller countries. The Monroe Doctrine is being dragged into the limelight once more as perhaps

the real cause for the forming of the A B C alliance. To all suggestions that smack of interference with their own plans the three nations concerned have turned the shoulder of indifference. The Governments of the other republics in South America have been very careful to express no opinions. Here and there some fervid Latin-American orator, or some journalist with access to less influential newspapers, has ventured to say that the rest of South America had better have a care. The leading journals, however, are free from making political guesses of a nature that might be decidedly uncomfortable and cause Governmental embarrassment. That the international position of South America is undergoing a tremendous change there is no gainsaying, and that in the transformation Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are playing stellar rôles is an indisputable fact. Whether European influence will be less great as a result is a mooted question. Nor is it revealed so far what concerted attitude the A B C alliance would take should the defense of South America from whatever quarter be the issue, except that it can be taken for granted that the liberty-loving Latin Americans will defend their independence to the last man. Is the A B C alliance strengthening itself to cope with eventualities? The answer is for the future and the eventuality.

Railways vs. Revolution

In relation to the political and economic regeneration of the Latin-American countries more than passing mention ought to be made of the recent election in Peru when José Pardo, once before the Chief Executive of the west-coast republic, was chosen President. In point of orderliness this election stands first among the similar events in Peru. Under the régime of President Billinghurst Peru made considerable progress, but the Chief Magistrate failed to gain the confidence of the military as well as of a large portion of the civil population. President Billinghurst's overthrow at the

hands of Colonel Oscar Benavides proved an affair that led to the former's exile. Colonel Benavides assumed the provisional Presidency, and the recent election was the result of a coalition between leading parties guaranteeing Pardo's selection in advance of the voting. The Peruvian Minister to the United States, Federico A. Pezet, happened to be in his home country during election time, and his presence is said to have had a very marked effect upon the conduct of the campaign.

With the opening of the Panama Canal Peru assumed a commercial importance which, while momentarily halted because of the European war, is bound to assist in opening up this country to foreign capital. The chief lack of Peru is railroad communication sufficiently advanced to bring more of the interior into touch with the coast. Some of the railroad enterprises are remarkable enough, but more lines are needed. Neighboring Ecuador suffers similarly from the absence of adequate transportation means. Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil-in each of these countries railways are the call. Argentina and Chile are alone among South American nations where the transportation question is being solved more nearly in accord with the demand for mileage, and both countries are continually extending their railway nets anticipative of ever greater demands for their products and foreseeing the necessity of being able to take advantage quickly of new markets. The Andean railway systems, joining Chile and Argentina, have also been of marked influence in smoothing over political differences growing out of boundary disputes, which is one more instance to the effect that nations get along better when better acquainted with each other. Except during the Winter season, when the Andes passes are blocked with snow, railroad traffic across the mountain range is of considerable volume.

Aside from the economic advantage of having railroads penetrating into the byways of their territories, it is an agreed fact that wherever transportation is fairly adequate revolutionary disturbances have been reduced to a minimum. Mexico, of course, may be exempted from this conclusion, for the Mexican uprising originally embraced an element whose grievance was so logical that the liberating propaganda against dictatorial powers did not have to confine itself to remote sections of the republic. It is evident, however, that more recently the splitting up of factions has led to guerrilla warfare shockingly demoralizing, and the same may be said of recent occurrences in Haiti, and in Venezuela and Ecuador some time ago. In almost every instance the constitutional régime has been confronted with great obstacles, where no railroads were present to send troops into distant parts. Certainly, Argentina and Chile consider revolutionary activity a matter of the past, and the orderliness of these countries is also attributable to the general education of the masses, a sequence where the country is easily accessible in every direction.

Commercial Rapprochement Near

T has been shown so far that, as between the United States and South America, the commercial rapprochement so much desired and so necessary is in a fair way to be accomplished to the complete satisfaction of the countries interested in extending their fields of trade. Whether or not it needed the European war to force the American republics into the arms of each other, mutual gain would seem assured from greater business development throughout the Western Continent. But what of the political outlook, as it may concern the twenty Latin-American nations in their relation to the big brother in the North? Has there been any indication that a full understanding exists regarding the future attitude of America as a whole? Is there any foundation for the rumors that the A B C alliance of South America came into being as an effective argument against United States supervision over the less affluent countries in Latin America; as a warning that so far and no further would the northern nation be permitted to go in the desire for putting unstable Governments on more solid footing? Is the participation of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, and Guatemala in the parleys with the United States regarding Mexico nothing more than an empty response to a friendly invitation on the part of the American Department of State? Let us look into this situation a little closer, for, without absolute assurance that South American commercial co-operation also means international accord where the Foreign Offices are concerned, the trade structure would become little less than a house of cards. If rumors carrying uneasiness can be contradicted finally, it ought to be done forthwith and bereft of equivocation. While the Pan-American movement is in its infancy, every obstacle to mutual confidence should be removed as weeds in a garden, in order to give the useful plant its fullest scope and growth.

The leading newspapers of South America, while discussing the advantage of co-operation between their countries and the United States, have been somewhat guarded in touching on the political phases springing from the trade entente. It is to be recalled, however, that within the last few weeks the Brazilian Congress was the scene of inquiry regarding the meaning of the republic taking part in the conferences anent Mexico. Cabinet Ministers were obliged to reply to the requests of the Deputies for information in this matter. And the strongest possible emphasis was placed on the declaration that in no event would Brazil sanction anything placing Mexican sovereignty in jeopardy. Brazilian participation, was the official statement, was in the nature of cordial acquiescence that -Mexico ought to be saved from itself, but that even so Mexicans themselves were to accomplish this task, difficult as it might seem. Here the matter was permitted to rest for the moment.

Europe and Latin-American Alliance

NOW, since Europe is directly concerned where the relations of the United States and Latin America are in question, it may not be amiss to look across the ocean for some sign of how the ABC alliance is accepted there.

The Frankfurter Zeitung, whose political articles carry considerable authority, in a recent issue said as follows regarding South America and the changed conditions wrought by the war:

A short time ago Europe learned that an alliance had been concluded between Argentina, Brazil, and Chile which was intended to guarantee peace on the South American Continent. Amid the roar of cannon the announcement passed almost unheard, and only a few were conscious that in the Far Southwest a new page of history had begun which might become full of significance for us.

The German newspaper then went into the complete history of the situation, the supposed reason for the forming of the alliance, the relation to one another in the past, and continued with reference to Germany:

These then are the three States which have concluded an alliance that puts an end to mutual enmity which appeared implacable a few years ago. But in addition the alliance signifies that the three most important South American repub-

lics are ripe for an independent policy. It signifies that they are weary of the desire of their "big brother" in the north to interfere, that they are going their own way, and that in place of the Monroe Doctrine they demand the recognition of their own program, "South America for the South Americans."

For European interests it can only be desirable that the A B C States should form a counterpoise to the influence of the United States. It was the intention of the latter to claim, economically, the whole of the South American Continent for herself; South America was to buy only in North America, and to export exclusively to the latter, insofar as the Union was capable of being a buyer. The greatest efforts were made to achieve this object, but the success achieved was not in proportion to the means employed. Europe-England in the first place and Germany in the second-remained the main purveyor and capitalist of the rising States of the Southwest. Unfortunately, Europe is now working against herself. Germany is cut off from the outer world, and must for the moment renounce her splendid position in South America. For England, certainly, the sea route is open, but she is as little capable of maintaining her position, because she is obliged to sacrifice all her energy to the war. The advantage rests with the United States in South America, just as it does with Japan in Asia. To appraise correctly the new conditions created by the A B C alliance will be an important preliminary to the reconquest of the South American market, one of the most important tasks awaiting us upon the conclusion of the war.

So much for the Frankfurter Zeitung. presumably an estimate representative of what Germany as a whole thinks of South America in its present and future relations with the United States and other nations. South American newspapers made sparing reference to the article; its tenor was such as to lead with suspicious direction from the counting room to the foreign office. By implication, the Frankfurter Zeitung was saying things dangerously close to the thin-crusted ice of diplomacy. Too many interests were at stake to comment diffusely on a matter where the issues crisscrossed continents and oceans.

In his somewhat picturesque but little satisfying book, "Pan-Americanism," Professor Roland G. Usher ventures to say that no matter who will be the victor in the European war, it will be the fate of the United States to defend itself against the promised aggression of the conqueror. Whatever good ground Professor Usher may have had for writing his "Pan-Germanism," the consensus of the press of the United States is that the distinguished author fell foul of the real facts when he penned his more recent volume. The South American newspapers, likewise, far from being flattered because of allusions to their liberty-loving qualities and the spirit of independence characterizing their international dealings in recent years, in a majority of instances refused to believe that such danger as Professor Usher threatened actually existed. Speaking of the future of Pan-Americanism the writer says:

A Pan-American confederation and administrative bond between sovereign States, with something approaching a Federal Executive and possibly a Legislature, can be real only as the expression in institutional life of a mutuality of economic interests and an identity of political ideas, of a mutual confidence and an identity of policy. None of these exists. In short, not one of these conceptions from the slightest to the more elaborate seems based upon realities. On the contrary, Pan-Americanism is likely to impress an impartial mind as an absolutely artificial and sentimental concept, diametrically op-

posed to the racial, economic, political, legal, and social interests of the American republics. A concept so contrary to all fundamental factors in the situation on whose existence all observers quite agree, an ideal which so clearly lacks an adequate motive in its own fundamental assumptions, demonstrates to the South Americans very convincingly that the advocacy of Pan-Americanism is intended to further the aggressive schemes of the United States by clothing them in so gracious and idealistic a form.

The day is at hand when the Latin-American republics will challenge Pan-Americanism, the Monroe Doctrine, and the assumption by the United States of the supremacy of the Western Hemisphere. As soon as a convenient occasion offers, some public manifestation of this intention will appear.

Since that occasion has not yet arrived, the author of "Pan-Americanism" should turn to the answers by the eighteen Presidents of Latin-American republics to President Wilson's message congratulating them on the success of the Pan-American Financial Conference. Something has already been told about the reply of President de la Plaza of Argentina. What the next-door neighbor of Argentina, Uruguay, thought of that Washington conference for American unity is contained in the cablegram sent by President Feliciano Viera. It read as follows:

The co-operation furnished by the Uruguayan Government has been an affirmation of the solidarity of interests and objects which exists among the American countries and a recognition of the prestige and spirit of initiative of the Union. I am glad to share the opinion of your Excellency that the work of the conference must bear beneficial fruit for the American countries. Permit me to add to these sentiments my wishes for the prosperity of the United States and for the happiness of your Excellency.

In this message, as in that of the Argentine Chief Executive, there is not the slightest hint of fear of United States aggression. The similar spirit pervaded each of the other sixteen cablegrams sent President Wilson as representing the feelings of the respective Governments. Professor Usher evidently was not one of those fortunate enough to see the magnificent coming together of the men who met in Washington last May. If he had, he might, perhaps, have wanted to detach

Pages 319 and 320 from his "Pan-Americanism."

It would occupy entirely too much space and would scarcely add to the already established fact that Latin America is desirous of United States friendship, to speak in detail of the extraordinary tributes paid the American Government while the visitors from South and Central America were the special guests of this country last May. view of the sometime strained relations between Washington and Colombia, it may be of value to show how that relationship has been improved. By a curious coincidence the best-endowed speaker among the Latin Americans, according to their own judgment, was Señor Santiago Perez Triana, a former Colombian Minister to Great Britain and a leading financial expert. To him it fell on various occasions to act the mouthpiece for the South and Central American countries. Señor Triana, from whom something more conservative might have been expected, owing to the Panama affair, which is not yet entirely adjusted, boldly declared at Washington that America needed today a "Pan-American union for the maintenance of peace and the defense of neutral rights - a whole hemisphere acting as a unit in sharp contra-distinction to Europe, rent into hostile camps." His speech proved little less than a revelation and was echoed to the full by his fellow-delegates from Latin America.

Forces Working for Common Interest

IF Colombia can take an attitude of such friendly interest in Pan-Americanism, is there any reason to believe that Latin America is hostile to these efforts for western-world co-operation? Since the Colombians are willing to forget past misunderstandings, as Señor Triana repeated again and again, South and Central American nations with no grievances whatever will hardly oppose what seems the best solution for the welfare of America.

Latin America consists of about 9,000,-000 square miles of territory. The population is estimated at 75,000,000. In some of the republics education is woefully behind what civilization demands. This is a fact readily admitted by the Governments themselves, but, on the other hand, praiseworthy efforts are being made to better this state of affairs. In the cities, however, school work is according to the most modern methods. The overwhelmingly large Indian populations in the remote sections of South and Central America are the present stumbling blocks, but with the coming of more railroads and more settlers important changes must occur. The number of Latin-American students in United States colleges and universities is constantly increasing, and here is being made ready a new bond of fraternity. The visits of leading American statesmen to South America have also added to the general educative scheme below the Rio Grande. New ideals are being presented. and Latin Americans are quick to take advantage of what is both idealistic and pratical. Denominational barriers are being removed to facilitiate free religious The interdenominational observance. conference of Protestant churches, to be held in Panama City shortly, is a step in the direction of bringing social workers throughout America into closer association. The Young Men's Christian Association movement has the sanction of Latin-American Governments in some of the leading republics, and more and more the southern nations are copying the Constitution of the United States in important particulars.

The language question may for some time yet prove one of the main reasons for keeping Americans of the north and Americans of the south at a distance from each other. With Spanish and Portuguese the national tongues of Latin America, the United States must gain a fuller acquaintance, at least with Spanish, before the best results can be ob-

tained from increased intercourse. American schools, however, are gradually rising to their opportunities in respect to this language matter. Commercial institutions are specializing in the teaching of Spanish. Young men and women are perfecting themselves in this linguistic

medium for the Americas getting better acquainted. It is on this field that Europe must be met squarely, for trade can only prosper where buyer and seller understand each other. European exporters learned this lesson long ago.

A Predilection for Paris

T is a foregone conclusion that so soon as Americans gain a more perfect knowledge of the languages of Latin America a new spirit of inquiry regarding the life and aspirations of these interesting people must spring up. The literature of South America, for instance, is an inexhaustible mine of information anent the mental activity of the republics. To understand why South Americans of culture show such predilection for Paris and other great European centres of learning and literary productivity, it must be known that the passion for writing possesses every Latin American of consequence. Not one of the Presidents at the present time but what has made his mark as littérateur or journalist. Dr. José Murature, the Foreign Minister of Argentina, is the editor of that great newspaper in Buenos Aires, La Nacion. Knowing Spanish will yield a wonderful harvest to the North American investigator of South American conditions. Without this knowledge such investigator will grope largely in the dark. The Latin American, by the way, in almost every case has a working acquaintance with the English language, due, perhaps, to the fact that Great Britain has been prolific with men and money where these southern countries are concerned. cent agitation in Cuba for the retention of the English language in the schools shows how great a value this island republic places on linguistic accomplish-There is reason to believe that those few working for the removal of the English teaching will meet defeat.

American journalism in its wider sense can do much to facilitate the opening up of Latin America to United States

interests. It is a fallacy to hold to the supposition that revolutions furnish the most interesting "copy" from the newspaper point of view where even Central America is concerned. Here, as elsewhere in Latin America, earnest efforts are being made to reduce internal disturbances to a minimum. It is not that risings of the people have not been justfied frequently in the past, but that, with the coming of the years, such methods are losing their popularity. If the taking over of the Custom Houses by the United States Government in Santo Domingo. Haiti, and, perhaps, Nicaragua can relegate revolutions to obscurity, the motive actuating the American authorities should be at once apparent. Cuba is an example that, so soon as the less settled republics regain their stability, Washington is only too pleased to let go its supervision of Latin-American fiscal affairs.

Now, then, Latin America today needs funds with which to conduct its business. Europe is a closed door, no better evidence to that effect being needed than the coming to the United States of the financial commission of the allied powers to raise loans in this country. On the admission of leading financial interests, funds are plentiful here, and investors are in search of outlets. It is for banking experts to examine for themselves what are the collaterals of the southern countries. But one fact stands out, namely, that no greater opportunity ever presented itself to lend a neighbor a hand than this hour when South and Central America are looking wistfully northward. Notwithstanding pessimistic utterances to the contrary, Pan-Americanism has arrived and come to stay. Is it too much to say that this solidarity between the twenty-one American republics refutes any belief that mere selfishness bases the motive that has brought about this good understanding between the Americas? the picture that unfolds before the vision grips the imagination, for here for the first time in history an entire continent looms as beacon to guide the world on its onward course.

The English Graves

By LAURENCE BINYON

The rains of yesterday are flown,
And light is on the farthest hills.
The homeliest rough grass by the stone
With radiance thrills;

And the wet bank above the ditch,
Trailing its thorny bramble, shows
Soft apparitions, clustered rich,
Of the pure primrose.

The shining stillness breathes, vibrates
From simple earth to lonely sky,
A hinted wonder that awaits
The heart's reply.

O lovely life! the chaffinch sings
High on the hazel, near and clear.
Sharp to the heart's blood sweetness springs
In the morning here.

But my heart goes with the young cloud That voyages the April light Southward, across the beaches loud And cliffs of white

To fields of France, far fields that spread Beyond the tumbling of the waves, And touches as with shadowy tread The English graves.

There too is Earth that never weeps,
The unrepining Earth, that holds
The secret of a thousand sleeps
And there unfolds

Flowers of sweet ignorance on the slope
Where strong arms dropped and blood choked breath,
Earth that forgets all things but hope
And smiles on death * * *

They poured their spirits out in pride,
They throbbed away the price of years;
Now that dear ground is glorified
With dreams, with tears.

A flower there is sown, to bud
And bloom beyond our loss and smart.
Noble France, at its root is blood
From England's heart.

Great Britain's Register

Stock-Taking of the Human Resources of the British Empire

In accordance with the instructions furnished by the British Registrar General, a specimen form is filled up for a commercial clerk, married, and with two children, one of whom is over 15 and in the receipt of a purely nominal salary. These two must be regarded as wholly dependent. He partially supports a relative. He possesses a motor bicycle, of which he is an efficient driver, and the mechanism of which he understands. The particulars in this specimen form are, of course, purely imaginary.

RITISH Registration Day under the terms of the National Registration bill was Sunday, Aug. 15, 1915. The forms were collected by the enumerators during the week following. All persons, male and female, between the ages of 15 and 65, were required to fill out the forms in the manner shown above.

In Lord Lansdowne's speech in the House of Lords July 13, on the second reading of the National Registration bill, he declared that the bill was the only foundation by which any country could measure its resources, especially its resources in men. He claimed that the bill would make up the defects in British organization and machinery. The country, he declared, would not tolerate a recurrence of certain incidents of which it had had recent experience, for there had been a great awakening since the time when an invincible navy, a small army, sufficient for home purposes, and an expeditionary force were considered sufficient. But the old go-as-you-please system, which left every man to do as he liked, had broken down entirely.

Lord Lansdowne admitted that the stream of men that had flowed into the army had surprised "many of us." Unfortunately the stream of equipment was not so satisfactory. "The great purveyors and contractors left us in the lurch, and there was a scramble with our allies in foreign markets for munitions." But no one knew, added Lord Lansdowne, what the defects in organization had cost Great Britain in money, anxiety, men, and lives. The ideal to be aimed at, he explained, is that every member of the community should bear the part which he is best qualified to

take. In the past, however, this did not happen under the recruiting system, for men were taken from munition works and agriculture and other trades who were needed at home, and, worst of all, numbers of married men were taken.

Speaking of the details, he maintained that it was absolutely essential that women should be included in the bill, for it was absolutely impossible to organize the industrial forces of the country without including the women. As for Ireland, the bill was not forcibly applied, because undoubtedly there was not the same enthusiasm for the measure as in England, and the great majority of men in Ireland lived on the land, and were unsuitable for industrial work. Lord Lansdowne predicted that the register would prove most valuable after the war when the work of demobilization had to be undertaken.

Finally, he insisted that the bill was not intended to introduce compulsory service by a side wind. The only form of compulsion in the bill was registration. But there was no word or syllable about compulsory service either in the army or navy, and nothing could be done about that without further legislation.

In a sense he did not think that the bill brought Great Britain nearer compulsory service, for he did not believe that voluntary service, with its anomalies and injustices, would be tolerated much further by the country. But the bill did in another sense assist compulsory service, for it would make the application of compulsion easier. If any one objected, let him ask the question whether he could guarantee how long the war would last, and whether in the future the stream of munitions would not outstrip the stream of men. For the present the bill would as



GRAND DUCHESS TATIANA
Second Daughter of the Czar of Russia. She Is 18 Years Old
(Photo from P. S. Romers)



M. ALBERT THOMAS
France's Under Secretary for War and Minister of Munitions
(Photo from Press Mustrating Co.)

NATIONAL REGISTRATION ACT, 1915. Form for MALES.



Name:

(Surname first) NEMO, JOHN JAMES

Residence:

(Permanent)
postal address).

13, Somewhere-st., London, S.W.

(Present address,)

Age last Birthday	If born abroad and not British, state Nationality. (2.)	Married,	Childs depe	many ren are indent you?	Person dependen exclu emplo	ny other us are t on you, ding nyees?	Profession or Occupation. State fully the particular kind of work done, and the material worked or dealt in (if any). (6.)					
40		Married	Under 15 years.	Over 15 years.	Wholly dependent	Partially dependent	Clerk; Commercial.					
			1.	1		1.						
	usiness, and of Emplo orking for an "Nonc. (7.)	yer. Employer		for cany Go Depa Say "Yes or "Do	employed or under overnment atment? s," or "No, not know."	(b.) Ar	re you skilled in any an that upon which esent employed, and it e you able and willin ke such work. (9.)	you are at so, what !				
	ther & Co. er Manufa 500a, New	cturers,		-	No.		(a.) or cycle driving and repairs. (b.					

Signature JOHN JAMES NEMO.

sist Lord Kitchener in voluntary recruiting, and how then could it be refused to him because it might be used for compulsion?

"If there are a few," said the noble Lord, "who object to this bill because they think that to that extent it brings us nearer to compulsion, they will find that their real opposition is this: That they want to deny to Lord Kitchener now the measure which he requires to assist in the organization of a voluntary army, and they want to impede him, if at a future time he should desire to obtain this weapon in order that the war might not be brought to an inglorious conclusion."



An Object Lesson In



(A) Actions of Heligoland Bight, Aug. 28, '14; Dogger Bank, Jan. 24, '15; and Belgian Coast, Oct. 19, '14; and this chart, which was originally published by The London Times. The London Times says: "German warships and merchant ships have been swept from every ocean, either being sunk, captured, or interned. The German battle fleet remains penned in harbor, and the watch over the North Sea by our grand fleet gives us freedom of commerce with allies and neutrals, and the power to send troops and supplies in safety to every theatre of war. British sea power has cut off Germany from her colonies, which are one by one falling into our hands."

The key to the chart is as follows:

(A) Actions of Heligoland Bight, Aug. 28, '14; Dogger Bank, Jan. 24, '15; and Belgian Coast, Oct. 19, '14; and subsequently. (B) Action off Coronel, Nov. 1, '14. (C) Action off Falklands, Dec. 8, '14. (D) Actions in Gulf of Finland, Aug. 27, '14; Gulf of Riga, June 3 and 6, '15; and coast of Courland, July 2, '15. (E) Blockade of Adriatic; action between Gloucester and Goeben, Aug. 8, '14. (F) Samoa occupied, Aug. 29, '14. (G) German Pacific colonies occupied; action at Herbertshohe and defeat of main German forces, Sept. 11-12, '14; capture of Nauroh, last wireless station, Sept. 21, '14; occupation of Friedrich Wilhelm Town, Sept. 24, '14. (H) Occupation of

British Sea Power

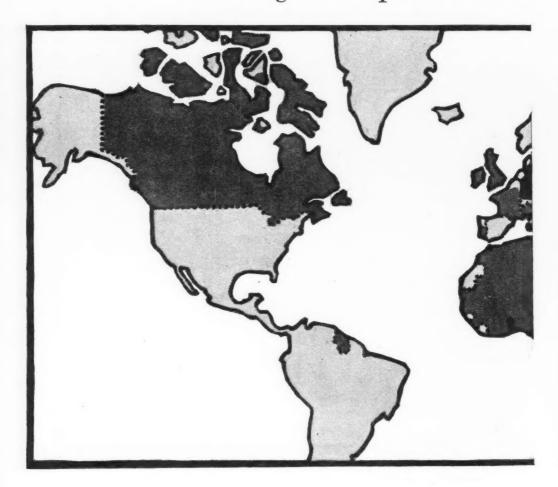
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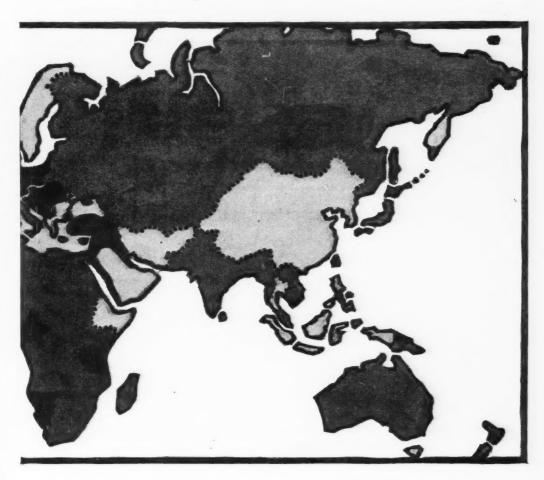
Togoland, Aug. 26, '14. (I) Invasion of Cameroons, Duala captured, Sept. 27, '14; Victoria captured by marines, Nov. 13, '14; blockade of Cameroon coast, April 23, '15. (J) Conquest of Southwest Africa; surrender of Luderitz-bucht, Sept. 19, '14; Swakopmund occupied, Jan. 14, '15; Windhuk and wireless station seized, May 12, '15; German final surrender, July 8, '15. (K) Operations on Lake Nyasa. (L) Action between Konigsberg and Pegasus, Sept. 20, '14; bombardments of Dar-es-Salaam, Aug. 8, '14, Nov. 28, '14, and Feb. 26, '15; blockade of German East African coast, Mar. 1, '15. (M) Dardanelles operations; first bombardment, Nov. 2, '14; Naval attack begun, Feb. 19, '15; action against the Narrows, Mar. 18, '15; landing of allied armies, Apr. 25, '15. (N) Operations against Turkey in Asia; Akaba bombarded, Nov. 2, '14; Selzure of Fao, Persian Gulf Nov. 8, '14; Basra occupied, Nov. 21, '14; Shelk Seyd bombarded, Nov. 15, '14; Kurna captured, Dec. 9, '14; Smyrna bombarded, Mar. 5, '15. (O) Kiae-Chau occupied, Nov. 7, '14, (P) Emden sunk, Nov. 9, '14, (Q) Konigsberg sunk, July 11, '15. (R) Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse sunk, Aug. 26, '14. (S) Cap Trafalgar sunk, Sept. 14, '14. (T) Navarra sunk, Nov. 11, '14. (U) Dresden sunk, Mar. 14, '15. (V) Karlsruhe sunk, Nov. 25, '14. (W) Prinz Eltel Friedrich and Kronprinz Wilhelm interned, Apr. 8, '15, and Apr. 27, '15. (X) Convoy of Canadian troops. (Y) Convoy of Australasian troops. (Z) Convoy of Indian troops.

Germany After a Year of War "Showing the Superior Power



Black areas indicate Teutonic territory throughout the world.

—Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts of Germany's Enemies"



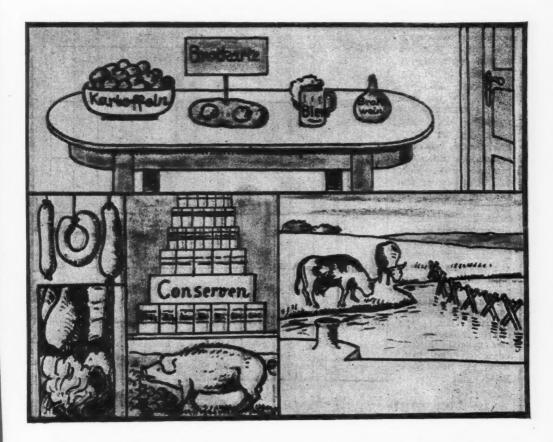
Gray areas indicate territory of enemies of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Germany After a Year of War "The German War Economy—English Been



Germany has been buying abroad, in time of peace, foodstuffs to the amount to \$750,000,000 annually. Now England seeks to starve Germany out by preventing all these imports. Germany is consequently thrown entirely on her own resources. During the first months of the war a limited amount of food was still being imported; the total somewhat increased by some help from invaded districts. Organization began immediately; the rich potato yield was made to serve more largely than ever before for human needs. Bread was partly made of potato flour, the potato distilleries were permitted to turn out but 60% of their

—Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts Starvation Policy and How It Has Met"

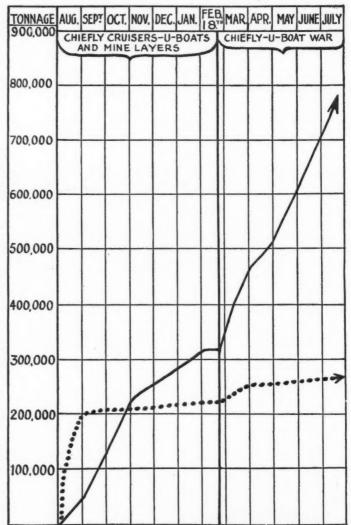


former production; the bread ticket regulated the daily rations of every German. The number of pigs, formerly tremendous ravagers of the potato crop, was reduced from 26 to 17 million. Pork was not used fresh, but smoked, thus allowing the real output to keep to its former amount. The beer production was cut down 40%. There is an excess production of sugar, for Germany produces, in peace times, one-third more than she uses. This surplus is being used for feeding cattle and for preserving a great quantity of foods, thus making the excellent fruit crop of 1914 useful.

Germany After a Year of War-Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts

Gains and Losses on the Sea

The curves indicated at the right show the tonnage of merchant vessels, sail and steam. which have been as good as lost, together with those held in the prize courts and those undoubtedly destroyed. The liners interned at the beginning of the war in enemy ports are also included. On the side of the German opponents, the loss, especially in England's case, has been enormous. Since the historic day, Feb. 18, (the day of the German war zone declaration,) the tremendously increasing losses of the enemy are clearly shown by the rapid upward curve, while the German curve remains about stationary. The actual losses of the enemy are still greater than the curve indicates, as our specific knowledge of the total loss is not com-



The German Mail Service for the Front

In one week there is almost as great a number of sendings as in the whole nine months of the Franco-Prussian war. 1870-71: Total to and from the front about 100 millions.

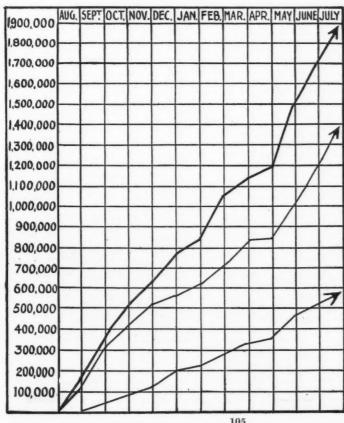
1914-15: During the first year of the war about 4,000 millions.



Germany After a Year of War-Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts

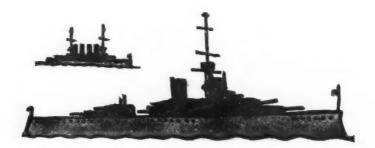


Increase in Number of Prisoners of War



The upper of the three curves indicates the total number captured by German and Austrian troops. The middle curve shows the number fallen into German hands alone, the lower those taken by our allies.

Germany After a Year of War-Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts



Loss in Battleships

Germany	7					9		9			95,507	Tons
Enemy				0							331,870	Tons

Prisoners of War 1,900,000

(July 25)

Russian		•		•		•										. 1	1,518,000
French																	268,000
Serbian								. ,	•				•	•			50,000
Belgian					0		 					,					40,000
English				•	•												24,000



A Sword in Pity's Hand

By Gilbert Murray

This comment is taken from a new and unpublished preface to Professor Murray's translation of "The Trojan Women," the Euripidean war play which was given recently at Harvard University, under the direction of Granville Barker, and a little later at the dedication exercises of the new stadium erected for the College of the City of New York:

OT Peace, but a Sword!" The burden of the Trojan women has now fallen upon others, upon Belgian women, French women, upon the women of Poland and Serbia. God grant that the discipline of the Allies may hold firm, and that mankind may not have to add to that tragic list the names of German and

Some twelve years ago, when I was steeped in this drama of Euripides, I felt that, vivid as it was, the things it depicted belonged to the horrors of the far past. War might come again, even among civilized nations; but it could never again be this kind of war. Mankind had advanced since the days of Troy or Melos; there were rules of honorable warfare firmly established, pathetic efforts made by man in his gentler moments to insure that, even in his fury, he should not sink utterly below the brutes. Women and children were safe, prisoners were safe, the wounded were safe. So much seemed certain; and yet the very reverse was true. The next war was to be

baser and crueler than the old wars, just as it was vaster in extent.

Other things, too, are strange. We could scarcely have believed that, if war could come, the first step would be the deliberate massacre of a small and unconcerned nation, as innocent as Melos and as far removed from the quarrels of its great neighbors. We could scarcely have believed that, with almost all Europe eager to preserve peace, with Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Serbia, day by day and almost hour by hour offering to accept any form of arbitration, mediation, conference, or even delay, one power would have taken on herself the responsibility of saying: "No, I can have arbitration, but I prefer war. It is by war that I shall gain

the most."

And that power was not only the strongest in the world, the best prepared and the most accustomed to think of politics in terms of force—that was natural. She was also the nation of all others whom in so many walks of life we most honored; the nation who had given us so much of our music, our philosophy, our great works of ordered knowledge; who through all the interwoven lines of human endeavor was making the rest of us her willing disciples. She was not content to be the first nation of Europe, the most rapidly growing in wealth and activity; not content to penetrate all neighboring lands with her influence and impress their imaginations with her disciplined strength; not content that we thronged to her universities to be taught; that we filled our libraries with her books and hardly counted any work successful till it won the approval of her authority. She was not content. She craved for a homage more abject, more brutalized. She wanted subjects, not neighbors. We offered her justice, but she preferred organized murder. It seems incredible, and yet it is the oldest of old stories. By that sin fell the angels! Other nations, great and fine nations, have gone mad before, and almost always with this same madness. Hubris the Greeks called it, the ancient sin of pride which must needs come to a fall if any balance is to be maintained in human life. There is hardly one strong nation in the world's history, from Xerxes to Napoleon, that has not in one degree or another been drunken with it. This should make our judgment more gentle, though it must not weaken our resolve.

Doubtless we have all sinned in our day; but that is no reason now against defending the innocent. We have all at some time, in some degree, transgressed the law; but that does not absolve us from the duty of upholding the law. We have all been cruel; but does that mean that we have no right any more to feel indignant

pity? And pity in this case has put a sword into our hands.

Reasonable men in Great Britain do not need to be warned against the folly of any desire to "crush Germany." Such a thing cannot be done, and if it could it would be a disaster. We do not need to be warned against deliberately setting ourselves to "hate Germany." To hate Germany would be a stupidity as well as a sin against civilization; I should not like to die calling a whole nation of men my enemies. But before peace can come the world must set its seal upon three great lessons: That public right still lives between nations, that the freedom of a civilized people shall not be violated with impunity, and that those who are swift to make war for the sake of gain shall find in their wars not profit, but bitter loss.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

Two review articles by German writers, one by Herbert Kraus on "The Monroe Doctrine as Germans See It," the other by Count E. Reventlow on "The Duty of Neutrals in This War," have been deemed of sufficient note to warrant separate places in this number. But of perhaps equal importance is the article by Sydney Brooks, quoted below, while special problems in Ireland, Russia, Ruthenia, France, Turkey, Italy, and Serbia are dealt with in a wide range of topics treated by the world's leading writers and presented in the subjoined text.

Future Developments of the Nations

By Sydney Brooks

HE war widens, it will widen still more before it is over, Sydney Brooks says in The Atlantic Monthly for August, in an article entitled "Side Issues of the War." Twelve powers, including Turkey on the Germanic side and Portugal and Italy on the side of the Allies, have spread the conflict to three-fifths of the total population of the earth and over three-fifths of its land surface. Three-quarters of the peoples of Europe are now at war. Only China, Mexico, the greater part of South America, and Spain are confidently neutral; the "United States, the Republic of Switzerland, the small kingdoms in the north of Europe, and the tempestuous powers of the Balkans are all alike obliged to take into account the possibility of intervention." The future effects of the war, particularly in Great Britain, Germany, and Russia, are considered by Mr. Brooks in a careful fore-

There has been much to deplore and a little to be ashamed of in the British record during the past year, but there has been vastly more to admire; and I, for one, am confident that we are turning at this moment one of the most glorious pages in British annals. I am not thinking solely or even mainly of naval or military successes in the seven widely separated theatres of war in which Great Britain is engaged. I am thinking of a nation strung up to the heroic pitch, wholly united in a cause that holds out no prizes but those of duty done, honor fulfilled, and security won by valor and sacrifice, absorbing discipline and steadied by it without losing their characteristic flexibility and self-reliance, and pitting against a monstrous mechanism of tyranny the full, spontaneous, and orderly strength of millions of free men.

Great Britain, it may be said, has not yet scaled these heights of splendor. But she is nearing them; she is climbing already beyond the lower slopes; she will gain the summit. She will not, however, do so without carrying still further that process of shedding old habits of thought and old ways of doing things which set in from the first moment of the war. We have seen in the past twelve months two developments of unique significance in British life-the exaltation of the State and the crushing down of party politics. It has been made a reproach to the Socialists of all lands that they did not prevent the war. If they cared for the reply, they might well make answer that at any rate it has had to be waged by applying their doctrines. Whether that shows the common sense of socialism or merely its abnormality, I shall not attempt to determine. But the fact is patent that in Great Britain, as in all the other belligerent countries, the State has taken on an unprecedented increase of powers and responsibilities. For the time being, the old economics are dead.

The British are among the least submissive and the most independent of peoples. Yet their chief complaint against their Government at this moment is that it has not sufficiently restricted their liberties, that it does not enforce discipline on every human being in the kingdom, that it does not prescribe for each one of them his or her special sphere of usefulness. Every step that the State has taken beyond the province assigned to it in times of peace has been received with a round of popular applause. The State regulates the prices of food; the State makes vast pur-

chases of necessary commodities for resale to the people; the State takes over the railways; the State gags the press; the State, by one enactment after another, places the entire kingdom under what is virtually martial law; the State fixes wages, annexes profits, takes control of the saloons, starts new industries, enters the insurance business, commandeers all the engineering works in the country, abolishes trade union restrictions, regulates and disciplines labor—essays, in short, a hundred enterprises that would be utterly closed to it in ordinary times.

The approval with which the British people have watched and encouraged these inroads upon their traditional philosophy is something more than a tribute to necessity. It implies a conscious recognition that the organization of Great Britain as a community has hitherto been singularly defective and that only State action can improve it. This recognition, in my judgment, will outlive the war. A sane and humorous people like the British are never likely to deify the State as the Germans have deified it; but they will more and more incline to enlarge its functions and to invoke its assistance. The awful transitional period that lies ahead of Europe, when the stimulus of war is removed and its ruin and waste come to be counted, and a desperate scramble of readjustment and rebuilding begins, will force all nations to turn to the State for leadership in the work of salvage. I cannot conceive that in Great Britain all problems of Government ownership or control of such utilities as the railways, such services as the banks and Stock Exchange, and such industries as mining, will not after the war be considered from a new standpoint. I cannot conceive that the British people, when peace returns, will tolerate for long the failure of the State to recolonize the British countryside or to provide a genuinely national system of education. Still less can I conceive of the empire continuing to be the same loose, unfederated, disjointed congeries of States that it was when the war began; or of domestic politics being resumed on anything like their old footing; or of women continuing to be excluded from that share in public and professional life to which their incomparable services during the war have with compelling effect underscored their claim; or of emigration from an exhausted and overburdened Great Britain to the ampler skies and prospects of Greater Britain beyond the seas being allowed to pursue its old haphazard course.

System, organization, discipline; a new sense of the State; a more realistic conception of unity throughout the nation and of brotherhood among all classes—these are the attributes that one hopes may survive the war and animate the

British people without detriment to their native impulses of initiative and selfconfidence. I find myself relying, blindly perhaps but profoundly, upon those three or four millions of young men who will have volunteered for the war, to introduce into Great Britain, on the return of peace, a wider democracy, not so much of political forms as of spirit and opportunity, a national and not a party outlook in public affairs, a better type of legislator than "the tired lawyer," and a higher standard of efficiency in the business of government. With the soldiers of the war, if they will but hold together and assert themselves, rests the future of the nations engaged in it; and in France and Great Britain and Italy, the three belligerent lands in which political life is most highly developed, their influence will naturally be thrown, not on the side of a resumption of party politics, but on the side of prolonging and upholding the temper and methods of the really national Governments that the plain urgencies of the war have already set up in London and in Paris.

If Great Britain has much to learn from Germany, Germany has far more to learn from Great Britain, Mr. Brooks believes:

But the capacity of each to assimilate what gives strength to the other is by no means identical. Great Britain can find room for, and in almost all departments of life stands to benefit by, those qualities of patient foresight, scientific exactitude, thoroughness in preparation, thrift, realism, and devotion to the State of which Germany has set so far-shining an example. For these are virtues that already exist in the British character, but are largely lost to the national service through faulty organization. They can be developed and they can be applied without any harm to, and, indeed, with a positive enrichment of, those traits that are the backbone of the British people. Great Britain, for instance, could adopt national military service without canonizing the uniform or enthroning a military caste. She could extend the functions of the State and yet still regard its agents and functionaries with the goodhumored tolerance of today. She could reach Germany's standard of education and intelligence without forfeiting her ancient dower of a natural and resourceful rebelliousness. She could become as systematic, economical, and provident as her adversary and still retain her talent for meeting responsibilities gladly and for What Britain. thriving on emergencies. in short, can borrow-and, if she is to hold her own in the war and in the not less difficult times that will succeed the war, must borrow-from Germany is in the nature of expansion. What Germany can borrow from Great Britain is in the nature of explosion. Once plant in the Fatheriand the careless British doctrine that a man is a human being and not a cog in a machine, and the whole apparatus of autocracy, caste-government, impotent Parliaments, and manufactured opinion begins to crack and crumble.

I fancy that in any event it will hardly emerge intact when the defeat which is as distant as it is inevitable strips from the ruling classes in Germany the prestige of infallibility and success. The people have long been beating against the bars. More and more they have begun to ask for a share in the Government commensurate with their numbers and intelligence, and to realize that the ballot, as an end in itself, is insufficient; that, divorced from direct responsibility, it is little more than a national plaything, and that it affords no adequate security against the subjection of Government to the interests of a single class or against the capricious and hazardous policies of a semi-absolutism. For some years before the war the German people had been working around to the conclusion that no Emperor, however patriotic, and no Chancellor, however dexterous, could be quite so safe a guardian of the national interests as the nation itself. I do not say that they had actually reached that conclusion or that, even if they had, they possessed the political capacity to give effect to it. But unquestionably that was the direction in which the German mind was moving. It seems not unreasonable to assume that the defeat of Germany in this war, by discrediting the whole philosophy of the State for which the Hohenzollerns have stood, must powerfully aid the political enfranchisement of the masses.

But it is, perhaps, on Russia that the war is destined to work its greatest effects, says Mr. Brooks:

Whatever else happens, the days of Prussianism in the empire of the Czars are numbered; and with its disappearance there vanishes a baleful influence that since the days of Peter the Great has corrupted the Slavonic spirit and interposed an estranging barrier between the Czar and his peoples. Changing the name of the capital from St. Petersburg to Petrograd was a small thing, but symbolic. It was a token that the Russian sovereign and his subjects, long separated by Prussian ascendency in the Court, the army, and the bureaucracy, were at last coming together in a mutually intelligible identity. The true genius of the Russian people is kindly, tolerant, and democratic. It is almost everything, indeed, that the Prussian spirit is not. That is why this war is for Russia essentially a war of

moral liberation that will clear a path for the fruition and expansion of all that is most genuinely Russian. The results may be long in showing themselves, but those who know Russia best and are possessed of something of her own unconquerable faith have the least doubt of their ultimate advent. Another and a decisive milestone is being passed on the long and tortuous road of Russia's progress toward liberalism and unity.

But it is on wider problems than these that the observer of the present struggle soon finds himself ruminating. There is not a question of all the many questions that have harassed European statesmanship for the past hundred years that has not been started by it into fresh vitality; and one at least, forgotten by all diplomats and remembered only by dreamers, has re-emerged from a still older tomb. Poland! That name, that ideal, that inveterate aspiration of a people martyred with the peculiar callousness of the eighteenth century-what "practical" man gave it, until the present war and Russia's resounding pledge of national resurrection, a single moment's thought? Yet the final and, as it were, the sacramental token of victory for the Allies has been solemnly and sincerely declared to be the ancient Kingdom of Poland reconstituted and made whole. And the principle by virtue of which this miracle is to be wrought is the principle of nationality. There, if anywhere, is the point of sharpest opposition between the Teutonic powers and the Allies. The triumph of the former means the trampling of the smaller peoples of Europe beneath the jackboot of Prussian militarism: the triumph of the latter is the vindication of their right to security and self-realization.

But one who, with this clue in his hands, seeks to thread the maze of European politics, will find "the principle of nationality" an erratic and even convulsive guide. By its light he may, indeed, picture to himself, without too much effort, the lost provinces restored to France, Belgium once more independent, and the neighboring kingdoms as self-contained and relatively tranquil as they are today. But as his eyes travel eastward, he becomes aware that, if nationality is to determine everything, very little is left of the map of Europe. Poland rises again; Austria-Hungary disappears, the German elements gravitating toward the Hohenzollerns and the Slav toward the Romanoffs, leaving Hungary to form a Magyar Switzerland; a Greater Serbia, a Greater Rumania, emerge; Bulgaria expands to the limits of her original agreement with Serbia and Greece; Italy annexes whatever in Austria and along the Dalmatian coast is Italian in speech or sentiment or by tradition; and Greece overflows into Asia Minor. Such a rearrangement is not impossible, if and when the Allies win. But it raises almost as many problems as it solves, and the more he looks into it the more will a dispassionate onlooker wonder whether nationality may not prove as refractory and aggressive—and may not be the forcing-bed of as many wars—as religion itself.

Not even here, however, do we reach the limits of this "greatest of all wars." the 500-year-old curse of Turkish rule at last and really to be removed from Europe? Is Russia actually within sight and touch of her insistent goals-Constantinople and an outlet to the warm waters? And if the Turks are driven from Europe, can they hold their own or maintain any sort of authority in Asia Minor? Syria and Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia, what is to become of them? Can Great Britain with her 80,000,000 Moslem subjects be indifferent to the fate of a country that contains the holy places at Mecca and Medina, and that commands the trade route to India as well as the coasts of Egypt? Is another and a greater empire to rise where the Assyrian and Babylonian empires fell? Will cities more magnificent than they cover the sites of Nineveh and Babylon, and the Tigris spread fertility like the Nile, and Mesopotamia become

once more the granary of the East, and the oil wells of Kerkuk rival those of Baku? These are not idle speculations. They are as much and as pertinently the conceivable consequences of the war as the fate of Germany's possessions in Africa and the Pacific, and the rounding off of the all-British route from Cairo to the Cape.

But all forecasts, all possibilities, are subject to the issue of the struggle and the nature of the peace. The world is at war today very largely because the Congress of Vienna one hundred years ago redrew the map of Europe on the artificial and transient lines of dynastic claims and antiquated technicalities, and ignored the rights and sentiments and individuality of the peoples it was dealing with. Since then democracy and nationality have made themselves felt as the most potent of all forces in the politics of today. If the settlement is guided by them, a new and saner dispensation may be created such as Europe has not seen since the peace of the Antonines was broken. For by far the most crucial question propounded by the war is not its effect upon this country or upon that, but whether it is to end merely to be renewed later on, or whether "the greatest of all wars" is to be also the last.

The Future of the Ruthenians

By Bedwin Sands

N The British Review Bedwin Sands declares that the Ruthenians, who are known by American immigration agents as Russian Poles, Galicians, South Russians, Bukowinians, and so on, are descendants of the ancient Scythians, and that several authorities claim that they are the purest type of Slavs. The Germans called them Ruthenians, but recent writers in Russia and abroad use the name of Ukrainians. The original Rusjky, that is, the people of the Kiev Kingdom or land of Rusj and of the Eastern Carpathians and sub-Carpathian districts, were called Malo-Russky, or Little Russians, part of that country being called historically Ukraine, or border, they have extended that name within the last few years to the whole of their land and that of Ukrainians to their people. Of their characteristics Mr. Sands says:

The Ukrainian occupies a place apart in the Slavonic family. The Slavs are like so

many brothers settled under different climes. The Ukrainian is a fine-looking, tall and slender, dark-haired son, the favorite child with visitors, but, if a sudden change of sex be forgiven in the course of this simile, he is a veritable Cinderella to his younger brother, the Muscovite. The latter has gone north, has taken in Mongol and Finnish blood, and become a pushing, masterful, money-saving creature. He is less shapely but more sturdy, less poetical but more enterprising, less fond of books, of education, of merry songs and dances, but keen on "siller," and can be depended upon for a certain standard of patient output. He will ignore the gibes of the quick-witted Ukrainian and go on with his work unperturbed. The rugged, stern Muscovite, like the Bulgarian, is by now too far removed from the pure Slav stock to care for public opinion. Only sensitive Western nations trouble about that. Tell a Bulgarian or a Muscovite he is an Oriental-he will not often care to deny it. The Ukrainian is anxious to be considered a European. He certainly deserves the name. Ten years of life under a free Government has proved it many a

time, in Canada and the United States of America.

The national aim of these 30,000,000 people, whose language shows their affiliation with the Serbo-Croats and Poles, besides securing the right for the Jews to reside in all parts of Russia, is freedom to worship as Greek Catholics. In addition, they desire the introduction of the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction in primary, agricultural, and

other lower schools, and their language as a subject of study in all Ukrainian schools; the introduction of all studies bearing on Ukraine in all the Ukrainian universities; the free use of the Ukrainian language in all meetings and public institutions, and the right of the Zemstvos, of the co-operative insurance, financial, and other public institutions of the Ukraine to form unions covering the whole or parts of the Ukraine.

Ireland's Recruiting

By N. Marlowe

Describing "The Present Mood of Ireland," N. Marlowe says in The British Review:

In the matter of recruiting Sir Edward Carson's followers in the North of Ireland gave at once a practical demonstration of their loyalty to the empire. But the significance of the contrast between the recruiting figures for Ulster and those for the rest of Ireland is not entirely political. The main industrial districts of the island are situated in the northeast of Ulster, and it is possible to argue that, even if Ireland had no "politics" and no "religion," the greater proportion of recruits would have come from this quarter. It is always easier to find soldiers in the towns than in the countryside. Nationalist Dublin, as we have seen, has done very well, (it has recently provided five new battalions of Dublin Fusiliers,) and the recruiting figures for the City of Cork are also good. The smaller towns in the south claim excellent records. For instance, Wexford, with a population of 14,000, has sent 2,000 recruits to the army and navy. Criticism, therefore, is chiefly directed against the agricultural counties. farmers' sons are a favorite target for letter writers to The Irish Times. But excuses are forthcoming. The laboring population in the country districts was already limited before the war, and such recruiting as has taken place in it has been felt by the employers, the owners of land, and their sons. Moreover, the increased demand for agricultural produce, consequent on the war, makes the shortage of labor more pressing than usual. In poor counties like Donegal, Mayo, Clare, and Kerry, where the drain of emigration has been severe, many a peasant finds it impossible to spare the one son who is still at home-there has already been a great struggle to keep him away from America. Such being the position, the Sinn Fein party could declare with some truth at the beginning of the war that there was no need for an anti-recruiting cam-

paign in rural Ireland. "England," wrote Arthur Griffith bitterly, "having destroyed our Constitution, suppressed our Parliament, loaded her debt on to our shoulders, turned our tillage fields into cattle ranches, trebled our taxation, and halved our population—all within a century—wants what is left of us to fight for her supremacy over the world."

The Nationalist argument for recruiting was:

"The more we help the better terms shall we receive when the time comes to reconsider the Irish settlement. By refusing to make war sacrifices we merely play into the hands of the Orangemen of Belfast. The Irish are a warlike race, and after they have been trained in arms and fought on Continental battlefields, is it likely that they will submit to the partition of their country?" Thus spoke Mr. Dillon to the Nationalists of Belfast, and, as may be imagined, his words did not conduce to the maintenance of the party truce: the Orangemen were never in a nastier temper than they are today, and swear that when their soldiers return from the war home rule will be "relegated to the devil."

But the politicians have used other appeals with effect, e. g., the wrongs of Belgium, horror of Germany, and the cry of small nationalities. Mr. Marlowe continues:

Sometimes, too, the Irish recruiting speeches strike a really original note. Listen, for instance, to the speeches of Professor (now Lieutenant) Kettle, who fifteen yoars ago was distributing anti-recruiting leaflets in the streets of Dublin. "Why," he exclaims, "we Irish have only just succeeded in civilizing England. If Germany should win this war and es-



ELENA
Wife of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and Daughter of Nicholas, King
of Montenegro



Wife of Ferdinand I. of Rumania and Daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha
(Photo from P. S. Rogers)

tablish her hegemony over the world, we shall have to begin the work of ages all over again. We shall have to civilize the Germans, and how long will that take? No—it is too great a sacrifice that the Kaiser's friends here ask of us!" Ireland, continues Lieutenant Kettle, must put aside all considerations of profit and loss—since when did we become a people of hucksters? She must remember her

duty, if not to England, then to Europe. Certainly it is "difficult" for Irish Nationalists to don the khaki, nor have we any assurance that England has renounced her imperialistic ambitions. Still, the fact remains that the present war is a good one, and Ireland can only effectively count in the settlement by sending her sons into the British Army. So the controversy reached a higher plane.

"Dinant la Morte"

By Camille David

H UMAN suffering such as Dante himself could not have imagined" is described by Camille David in The Contemporary Review for August from facts which he attests after visiting the ground on which Dinant was razed. During the awful sack of Dinant and the flight of the terrified inhabitants in the last days of August, 1914, M. David presents this as a faithful record:

Saturday, Aug. 22, was quiet, except that toward evening there was artillery thunder in the valley.

Sunday was a terrible day. As early as 5:15 in the morning, at dawn, the Germans, under the orders of Lieut. Col. Blegen, began to bombard Dinant. Shells rained on the town. Soon the mitrailleuses, which were hidden in the trees, sent down a great shower of bullets. From the left bank the French replied vigorously. Hardly had the fight begun before several hundred Germans of the 108th Infantry Regiment advanced through the Ponds de Leffe and by the heights of St. Nicolas. The first victims fell at Leffe.

The faithful took refuge in the Eglise des Prémontrés, where mass was being celebrated, while outside was the crack of rifle fire. It was 6:30 o'clock. The German soldiers burst into the church and drove out the worshippers. They had heard their last mass!

Protests and supplications aroused no pity in the barbarians. With the butt ends of their rifles they separated the men from the women, and made them stand in a group while they shot into the middle of them under the horrified eyes of the women. About fifty civilians fell dead. The women uttered terrifying shrieks. At the door of his house, and in the presence of his wife and children, they killed M. Victor Poncelet. Bloodthirsty fury took possession of the soldier-assassins. Street by street and house by house they pillaged the town and set fire

to it, destroying Dinant from top to bottom * * *

At 9 o'clock a pitable cortège approached the prison. It was composed of men, women, and children, about 700 of them. With their hands held up and surrounded by soldiers, these martyrs crossed the burning town. Tears flowed, sobs, lamentations, prayers arose from among them. No one listened. The officers and soldiers were unmoved. Until dusk these wretched people were kept prisoners. The soldiers passed backward and forward in front of them, saying: "You will all be shot this evening." Evening arrived. Darkness fell slowly, so slowly, prolonging the terrible agony. The battle had come to an end. Namur having fallen, the French had orders to retire toward Philippeville. The Germans were masters of the town.

At 6 o'clock a German Captain had the women placed high up on the Montagne de la Croix. A cordon of infantry barred the street before them. Thirty steps away, against the wall of the garden of M. Tchoffen, the public prosecutor, in the Rue Léopold, at the corner of the Place d'Armes, a row of men was placed standing, and in front of them a second row kneeling. Opposite the public prosecutor's house soldiers were stationed ready to shoot. To avoid the ricochet of the bullets they were aiming slantwise. A little further on, waiting their turn, another group of inhabitants helplessly watched The Gerthese lugubrious preparations. man officer passes in front of the crowd in reserve and chooses more victims. At this tragic moment a thrill of horror goes through the condemned men and through the crowd of relations and friends who are looking on at the scene. The women implore and wring their hands and throw themselves on their knees, the children weep, the men cry: "Mercy! Mercy! we did not shoot, we had no arms. Have pity on us for our children's sake."

It is in vain! The German officer will listen to nothing. He takes up his posi-

tion, shouts an order, lowers his sword. The rifles go off, the bullets fly, and men fall. A great clamor is heard which makes the rocks tremble. Women are fainting.

* * * The dead now rest in M. Tehoffen's garden. A few flowers and some little wooden crosses stuck in the ground mark the two big graves.

Not all the men, however, have been hit. About twenty were not touched. They fell down pell-mell among those who had been shot. Others were only wounded. One received a bullet in his head, another was hit by five bullets, another had his thigh perforated. remain motionless in a pool of blood which gradually congeals, lying side by side with the corpses of their friends, now become cold and stiff in death. Not a cry, not a murmur, not a breath rises from this human heap. Agony and the will to live glue them to the pavement. Fear itself prevents their teeth from chattering. They feign death and await the darkness of the night. There is silence for a long, long time. Then a head lifts from among the dead in the shadow. Enemies are no longer to be seen near the prison. In a low voice, in a whisper, the owner speaks and says in Walloon: "Can you see any one over St. Nicolas way? A man lying on his back opens his eyes and answers: "No, nobody." "Let us go into the house opposite," says young It is 8 o'clock and quite dark. The survivors, silently, with beating hearts, revived by hope, rise up, cross the street with a run, plunge into a house, climb through the gardens, the unhurt dragging and supporting the wounded, and hide in the mountain. They are covered with dark blood which is not their own. They rub themselves with leaves and grass. For several days and nights they live on carrots and beets and other roots. The wounded are untended. Their comrades tear up their shirts for bandages. They suffer terribly from thirst. . . * .

That tragic Sunday, Aug. 23, saw other massacres. In the prison civilians were shut up, men and women together. At 6 o'clock in the evening a big gun started shooting from the upper part of the mountain, and dropped a rain of bullets on the prisoners, who were in the courtyard. A woman fell pierced through the body. Three other people perished at her side. Soldiers ran up to kill them. In order to save himself Dr. D. smeared his face with the blood of the victims and pretended to be dead.

The butchery had been organized at various points in the town. Inhabitants who had taken refuge in cellars and were discovered were shot at once. At Leffe, at about 5 o'clock in the evening, the soldiers forced M. Himmer, the Argentine Consul, Director of the Oudin Works, a

Frenchman, and fifty workmen, women and children to come out of the collars of the weaving factory, where they had fled. Four times did they set fire to the establishment. M. Himmer came out first with a white flag. "I am Consul for Argentina." he said to the officer, "and I appeal to that country." What was that to the assassins? They were all shot. The officer said: "It would have been too much luck to spare you when your fellow-citizens were dead." The toll of the dead at Leffe is horrible. One hundred and forty civilians were shot. There are only seven sound men left.

In the garden next to that of M. Servais, ex-Secretary of the Commune, also shot, rest eighty of the inhabitants of Dinant. In the cemetery of the Faubourg de Leffe others lie buried. Others again to the right of the road, in a garden near the Catholic school, at the entrance to the Fonds de Leffe. And here it was the inhabitants shut up in the Couvent des Prémontrés who dug the grave. M. M. told me, shaking with indignant feeling: "They made us dig the grave, like martyrs, saying to us, 'That's for you this evening.' They made us bury our massacred fellow-citizens. I saw seventeen bodies thrown into that enormous hole, and then the contents of three carts. each carrying fifteen murdered corpses. They were tossed in like bundles, without being identified."

Toward 6:30 the German savages passed along the Rue St. Roch. Against the house of M. B. a group of civilians was shot. Then the soldiers threw the bodies into the cellar, which has been walled up. Forty victims are in that charnel house. In the Rue En Ile a paralytic was shot in his chair. In the Rue d'Enfer a young fellow of 14 was killed by a soldier. He had with him a little child whom a soldier tossed into the burning house of M. François G.

At Neffe, a southern suburb of Dinant, armed bandits sacked, pillaged, and stole, with fire and slaughter. Under the railway viaduct they shot men, women, and children. An old woman and all her children were killed in a cellar. A man, his wife, and son and daughter were put against a wall and killed. An old man of 65, his wife, his son-in-law, and the young wife were shot. Down at the river bank there was further butchery. Inhabitants of Neffe who had gone by boat to the Rocher Bayard suffered the same horrible fate. Among them Mme. Collard, aged 83, and her husband, and many women and children. Ninety-eight civilians were buried in M. B.'s garden, according to the accounts of the German soldiers themselves. And while this awful carnage was deluging the town with blood, the German soldiers gave demonstrations of their cowardice.

instance, this in the Faubourg St. Paul. Mme. L. P. relates: "Soldiers came into my house. They struck me with their fists in the chest, smashed everything in the house, then, with a revolver pointed at me, dragged me out of doors. Other women were there under the threats of these brutes. They pushed us before them to the parapet at the waterside, exposing us to the French fire, while the coward Prussians stooped and fired, sheltering themselves behind women." It was there that Mile. Madeleine Massigny was killed.

I have heard of four cases of violation, a young woman who died after the abuses of fifteen horrid bandits. I have also had an account of a young mother who was confronted with a choice between the strangling of her little girl and her own dishonor. It will be readily understood that names cannot be given, and that the population keeps religious silence with regard to these cases.

Dr. A. L. took refuge with his wife and a baby of a few months in a sewer. They had no food but a little sugar, and nothing to drink but the filthy water flowing by. To feed the child they had to damp the sugar with this noxious liquid. The horrible situation lasted two days.

The "Kultur"-bearers have refinements of cruelty. In the barracks at Leffe 300 civilian prisoners were placed in line along the wall with their arms up. Behind them a pastor recited the prayers for the dead, while an officer worked an unloaded gun! This torture was kept up for a quarter of an hour. It seemed a century long. In the Eglise St. Paul prisoners were kept for five days. In the Eglise des Prémontrés an officer of the 108th Infantry came to demand a candle. He was given a taper. He refused it, and the sacred lamp was taken down. He was satisfied, and marched all around the as-

sembly, jeering, and holding his revolver at the faces of the women. He carried his trophy away with a roar of laughter.

Pillage and fire continued on the Monday and Tuesday. The soldiers drank as much wine as they could steal. They wallowed in murder and blood, celebrating their triumph glass in hand. Drunken officers sat down with their men. They obliged the inhabitants who had survived to be present at their orgies on pain of death. On Monday the soldiers, just to amuse themselves, killed three old men of 80. On Tuesday, at 5:30 in the morning, soldiers scattered through the town, shouting and setting fire to the houses on the Quai de Meuse and in the Rue du Moulin des Batteurs.

From the Monday processions had been Surrounded by soldiers, who struck the French monks in the face with horsewhips, the prisoners were taken away toward Prussia, some by Ciney, others by Marche. About 400 went. How many will return? And what must have been the sufferings of those innocent victims on the long routes, who had not been able to dress themselves suitably or get their boots, who had been torn from their wives and children, leaving behind them that nightmare of bloodshed and ruin. One had only stockings on his feet. Many were in sabots. Already the dead were strewn along the roads. On the left of the Ciney road, on the Tienne d'Aurcy, lie buried four old men who were found with their hands bound, unable to go any further, and exhausted by suffering and fatigue. They were MM. Jules Monard, 70; Léon Simon, 65; Couillard, 75, and Bouchat, 73. The farmer of Chesnois was harnessed between the shafts of a cart and forced to drag it up the hill of Sorinnes.

Such is the true and sad story of Dinant. It remains for the world to pass its judgment.

Mobilizing the Russian Nation

By V. Kuzmin-Karavayeff

(In Vyestnik Evropy, "The European Messenger.")

THE main interest of the moment, the main problem, is the mobilization of Russian industry, or, more exactly, of the forces of the nation and of society. By mobilization is understood the measures which change the country from the normal conditions of peace times to a war basis. This includes the filling up of the ranks of the army, the supply of

horses, and the organization of all kinds of munitions of war. The rôle of the people in all these matters has generally been passive. It has only had to meet certain demands, such as requisitions from factories and manufacturing plants, to supply hay, food products and articles required for supplies of other kinds, for the army. But the active rôle has always

been reserved for the military power itself.

When the present war had just begun the forces of society, which had gained experience in the Russo-Japanese war, were given an active participation in the care for the sick and wounded, at first only in the interior of the country, but soon also at the front. Gradually the share of the forces of society in the active work of the war was enlarged. It was frequently given a share in the sanitary organization of the different war sectors; it was called on to share in the provision of uniforms and linen for the troops, in erecting baths, laundries, victualing stations and so on. But all this did not touch the burning need, as the tenth month of the war revealed it-the point at which the evident insufficiency of the forces of the Government showed itself.

Our recent military reverses and the successes of the Austro-Germans have shown that our enemies have a notable superiority in the weight of metal thrown by their guns. To try to develop our fire also to the same irrational number of shells per day and per hour-a number entirely unjustified by the results gained -would, of course, be a stupid and useless imitation. But to improve the quality of our artillery fire, and its accuracy, is indispensable. The prolongation of the war has exhausted our reserves of shells. In like manner our supplies of other kinds of military equipment have been exhausted. No foresight could have anticipated the conditions created by this unprecedented war. The Germans used up their supplies prepared in time of peace long before we did. But they have long had a largely developed production of war munitions, with which they even supplied the armies of foreign countries, and also, from the early weeks of the war, they have had command of all the metallurgical resources of Belgium and a large part of Northern France. It is impossible not to regret that the call for the forces of the nation and of society was not heard earlier in Russia.

But it is not too late. The war may and must last long yet. The vital thing is that the problem of the hour has been recognized, and that the necessity of mobilizing all forces of the nation to meet it has been seen. The representatives of industry have said the first word. To their voices have immediately been added those of the representatives of our social organizations, the local and municipal councils. The telegraph wires daily bring news that the national mobilization is developing in width and depth, and growing irresistible. The technical forces of all teaching bodies, technical organizations of all kinds, trade organizations and so on, are taking part in it. And if the members of the Imperial Duma, of all parties and factions, await with such eagerness the day of renewal of their legislative activity, this passionate desire is explained, to a notable degree, by the moral necessity of plunging into the general work of the mobilization of all the forces of the nation. To be a member of the Imperial Duma, to feel one's responsibility as a representative, and at the same time to remain in enforced idleness, or to devote one's painful leisure to the work of the Red Cross or to social organizations, was simply torture. There are groups of the Extreme Right of the Imperial Council who do not share this feeling, and who have not taken part in the national life of these momentous days.

And in the region of direct legislative work, the mobilization of industry and of the forces of the whole nation opens up for the Imperial Duma a whole series of important and responsible problems. A work of immense significance is in motion. No ready forms and molds exist. The forms and regulations of the committees already created to supply war munitions and for other purposes must be thoughtfully worked out, their activities must be regulated without delay. And it must not be forgotten that this work requires the co-ordination of the efforts of such different participants as men of science and technical knowledge, social workers and organizers. And with them must cooperate the forces of the working classes, without whom not one step forward can be taken, and which up to the present have not been included in the work of organization.

The members of the Duma, as they have declared in interviews with newspaper correspondents, feel that, in the person of the new War Minister, General A. A. Polivanoff, the fullest co-operation of the Ministry of War with the mobilized forces of society in the task of providing war munitions for the army is guaranteed. The Ministry of the Interior, under the guidance of Prince Stcherbatoff, will also, it may be affirmed, raise no obstacles. Of the problem of the hour, Prince Stcherbatoff says: "All the efforts of society and of the Government must be strained toward a single point-to fight and to win." If the Imperial Duma succeeds in finding forms for the vital regulation of the work, and if, in addition to the authority of the social organizations, the authority of the Duma also supports the work, then we may look forward with confidence. The army knows that for nearly a year already all the thoughts of the land and of the people are with it. When the army learns that to it, to its military equipment, its martial might, the whole force of the nation is also directed, its force will be increased tenfold. And this the Germans already understand. On the Pruth, on the Dniester, on the Vistula, they are firing hundreds of thousands of shells. They know that to their successes will soon come an irrevocable end.

Turkey's Present Rulers

By E. Nouridjan

Formerly Counsel of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy.

(In La Revue.)

N Turkey, as everywhere, murderers and robbers are brought before an Assize Court or a criminal tribunal and punished in conformity with the law. Authors have based on this the idea that the Turks respect human life and property, and so were not as savage as they were thought to be! But what these writers did not see, what they could not see in a superficial study, in the course of a long or short voyage, was that assassins are punished in Turkey not because human life is respected there, but simply because assassination being the exclusive privilege of the Sultan, the murderers infringe his monopoly.

The Sultans, however, have never failed to exploit this monopoly; Sultan Abdul Hamid accorded assassination permits to his favorites. Who can tell the number of people assassinated in the last few years by two of these favorites, Gani Bey and Fehim Bey, for motives that had nothing to do with politics? They assassinated in order to steal, but, it is reported, they were scrupulous in handing over to their master a part of the booty.

When the Committee of Union and

Progress in fact usurped the sovereign power, it naturally profited by one of the most important privileges attached to the person of the Sultan; the right of inflicting death. It is just to the committee to say that it has used and abused this right in a way to make Abdul Hamid, the red Sultan, grow pale! The first act of the Committee of Union and Progress, in assuming power, was in order to get its hand in, to give the order for the assassination of the Christians of the Province of Adana; since then, the assassinations of which the committee had been guilty cannot be counted; it disdained no adversary; the strongest and the weakest, all disappeared as if by magic, in accordance with its wish. After having thoroughly purged Turkey, it sent its emissaries as far afield as Paris, to complete their exploits. One of these last was killed while endeavoring to accomplish his mission; his accomplices were released for lack of proof.

In France people still believe in the Young Turks and the Old Turks. The expressions Old Turk and Young Turk do not even exist in Turkey—any more than the things themselves, nor is there any equivalent term. What are called in Europe Young Turks are the Turks who are not satisfied with their posts, and who are intriguing against the Old Turks, that is, against those who have more desirable posts.

The state of war, as will easily be believed, has in no way remedied the current evils and has only increased the opportunities for abuses. The Constitution, having proclaimed equality among all the races, it was, or at least it appeared, natural that the Christians should perform military service, for which only Mussulmans had hitherto been liable. * * * Those who do not wish to serve have, it is true, the privilege of being excused on payment of 1,000 francs, (\$200.) But every three months a new decree of mobilization is issued, and the payment must be repeated; I know Christians who have paid six or seven times, and are always threatened by a new demand. Some, sick of this and without means, declared that they were willing to serve. In groups of three, they were intrusted to two gendarmes with fixed bayonets, who led them to the high roads, where, under threat of the bayonets, they had to break stones for twelve and fourteen hours a day; the moment they wished to rest they were abused and threatened; at the end of a week of this existence these poor "soldiers" sold whatever they possessed, their furniture, their wives' jewels, to pay the fine for non-service. They were set free—until the next decree of mobilization. Such is the life of all Christians in Turkey between the ages of 19 and 45. Long live the Committee of Progress! Who would have said that we should come in time to regret Abdul Hamid?

Five years ago I was chatting with an official who had spent twenty years in European countries and occupied a high post in Turkey.

Do you not see, I said to him, that you are on the road to ruin? How can you expect a country to progress when the fools rule the intelligent?

He began to laugh.

How long, do you think, he asked me, Turkey can exist under these conditions?

You want me to answer frankly?

Yes.

Ten years, at most.

In my opinion, that is enough. So you think we can last ten years more? Well, why should we not profit by present conditions for ten years? Why do you want us to commit suicide now?

Italy and Serbia

By C. Stojanowich

Former Minister of Commerce of Italy

(Rivista d'Italia.)

After a general discussion of the Balkan problem, M. Stojanowich takes up the special question of the relations between Italy and Serbia as future neighbors:

DURING this war the question of the delimitation of our frontier in the direction of Italy has come to the front. Between Serbia and Italy, precisely as also between Serbia and Rumania, there has never existed, and cannot arise, so far as can be foreseen, any

cause of conflict. If the Serbians, Italians, and Rumanians win their freedom from Austria, and if our expansion absorbs those regions of Austria-Hungary which are inhabited by our co-nationals, this solution cannot bring causes of dissension nor furnish reasons for strained relations in the future. For centuries our boundaries have marched with those of the Rumanians, and history knows of no conflict between these two nations. Our relations of neighborhood with Italy,

which lasted for a long time in the Middle Ages, have always been amicable, and were always consolidated by close commercial bonds, as well as by those of economics and culture, and we are not able to perceive any cause that should hinder these relations of neighborhood, once more restored, from becoming closely knit, as before, and even rendered more intimate. A strong and great Serbia, with a reinforced and enlarged Rumania, in union with Italy, will represent, both north of the Balkans and in the Apennine Peninsula, a powerful barrier against the irruption of the Germanic torrent, which for more than twenty centuries has threatened to overwhelm the Balkan lands and Italy.

The barrier which, when the war is ended, should find its expression in a Slavo-Latin alliance, would consist of about 70,000,000 of population. If two more Balkan nations, natural members of the Balkan confederation, in spite of temporary misunderstandings, have essential reasons for uniting with the compact mass of the others, should also enter this alliance, then the new regrouping of forces in Europe, represented by Italy and the consolidated Balkan group, would become highly important.

The future relations of Italy with the Balkans should be regulated in such a manner that Italy should be able to advance her interests in common with her natural friends; and this in complete contradiction with the past, when the relations of Italy were bound up with the interests of powers which, both by reason of geographical position and through racial causes, were straining toward the conquest of those lands and those seas in which Italy must safeguard her own interests. I repeat, the Greater Italy, together with a strong "Balcania," should form that natural group which alone can guarantee the necessary development and the defense of all those interests which we in Balcania, and Italy likewise, have most at heart. No nation can have a greater interest than Italy in the formation and consolidation of the Balkan group. And especially is it Italy's chief interest to co-operate in the systematization of the separate Balkan nations, along the line of their national aspirations, since with the Balkan States so constituted Italy will have ready to hand that alliance which is best suited to her for the protection of her own interests, which cannot fail to harmonize with those of the Balkan States.

Our intention is to seek sure pathways. Generations which are to come after us will have as their task to develop the grand idea which affirms its rights arising from a hecatomb of those who have fallen, and who have given it faith and life. Therefore Mazzini has said: "Great ideas make great peoples." (Il pensiero di Mazzini, cccliv.)

Therefore it is opportune to indicate also the false ways which have already been too much trodden, and which, it seems, some still wish to follow, holding obstinately to the old errors which still survive in Europe, according to which Balcania is considered a territory open to conquest, subjugation, division at pleasure. But this is now an absurdity. Only evil and avaricious nations can counsel the sustaining of unnatural relations in Balcania, from which can come only new conflicts, new and unnecessary struggles, which will work detriment to the progress of all European peoples. Therefore, like all the nations of Europe, the Balkan peoples must work in such a manner that we may not once more become the victims of new underhand machinations, which could only serve to kindle conflagrations more tremendous even than the present war, and which would be nothing but the inevitable result of false political principles, drawn from the errors of the past. Let that ideal which stands in the program of the Balkan peoples, which contains the sanest principle that has been consecrated by history—the principle of nationality—be followed, and there will be secured, in the best way possible, a durable condition of peace, both in the Balkans and in Europe. The Balkans, because of these questions of nationality, fomented and incited dangerous desires in other nations, and were the occasion of intrigues, disorders, gigantic struggles, between European imperialism and the principle of the protection of the smaller peoples and of their independence. In such a conflict, the foreign forces could succeed only when the Balkans were divided; the Balkan States, because of internal dissensions, which, however, were always inspired from without, were led to gravitate toward different European groups, the tendencies of which are irreconcilable.

The Balkan States can be grouped in two strong ethnical groups, that is: A Slav group, formed of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, and a non-Slav group, formed of Greece, Rumania, and Albania. The formation of these two groups could be accomplished without any injury at all to the separate Balkan nations. while the delimitation of the boundaries between the different Balkan nations must follow the standard of the principle of nationality. And side by side with national diversities, the common possession of the past, the sharing of misfortunes throughout the course of their history, the similar characteristics of the different races, resulting from centuries of oppression, must bring into high relief the all-compelling reasons for the creation of a union of interests among the Balkan States. The desire to divide the inheritance of the Turks, which will continue in the hearts of the Germans, united with the experience of the unhappy past, should consolidate among the Balkan peoples all the reasons which make greater solidarity imperative. The examples of the recent past, save a few exceptions, are there to confirm our conviction that a splendid future lies before the Balkan peoples.

However great one may consider the

forces for the consolidation of the new Balkan constellation, we are convinced that, if the Balkan States come forth stronger from the present war, the natural increase of the population of these States will constitute a reinforcing of the elements of defense against any foreign invasion whatever. The 25,000,000 of actual population, and the 35,000,000 will result from the territorial increase of the actual Balkan States, will, in a few decades, presumably amount to 70,000,000. If to this complex, Italy should be added, as the nearest and most natural ally, then within a half century Italy and Balcania together will form a group of 150,000,000 inhabitants which will represent the strongest barrier and the most powerful defense against the pressure of Central Europe toward the Balkans, the Adriatic, and the Mediterranean.

He who wishes peace and progress in Europe must open the way that leads to certain and lasting success, and this way is that of the protection and respect of the smaller peoples. And therefore we must take account of the interests of the Balkan peoples, who, in their agelong struggles, have wet with their blood every yard of soil they have reconquered, every enterprise they have undertaken. In the actual position of the relations between the various Balkan States, which, although it has not yet reached a final stage, and is nevertheless one of the most solidly based, the bad example of the past must not be renewed, and no groupings must be created like those invented by the infernal ingenuity of Bismarck in 1878.

The Cost of Swiss Neutrality

By Ernest Lemonon

(In La Revue.)

SWITZERLAND on Aug. 4 announced her neutrality to the belligerent powers. Among other means of safeguarding her neutrality, Switzerland decided to mobilize her army. To meet the first expenses of the mobilization Switzerland had at her disposal 41,000,000 francs, (\$8,200,000.) Considerable as this sum was, it was, however, notoriously insufficient. It was possible to foresee that the war, while it would steadily increase expenses, would at the same

time bring a constant diminution of receipts, and that thus the budget situation of the Swiss Confederation, already difficult enough, would be notably aggravated.

On Aug. 12 the Swiss Government decided on an internal short-term loan of 30,000,000 francs, (\$6,000,000.) Issued at 5 per cent., payable in February, 1917, it produced nearly 42,000,000 francs, thus exceeding by 12,000,000 francs the sum required. But soon a new appeal for credit became necessary. The Federal Council, which this time needed 50,000,-000 francs, issued a long-term loan. This time, also, the subscription greatly exceeded the amount of the loan; it gave more than 179,000,000 francs. Nevertheless, the Government was soon under the necessity of procuring new funds; it found them by having recourse to the disposable capital of special funds, by issuing Federal Treasury notes, and by imposing a war tax.

From the month of August to the end of December, 1914, the sums paid for the cost of mobilization mounted to 103,-480,000 francs. Since that date each month there have been spent about 15,-000,000 francs, (\$3,000,000.) The message of the Federal Council relating to the war tax, dated Feb. 12, 1915, indicated that at the end of June the cost of

mobilization would have reached 230,000,-000 francs, (\$46,000,000.)

The total of expenses paid by the State Treasury for the period Aug. 1 to Dec. 31, 1914—including the cost of mobilization—exceeded by 147,857,000 francs the total Government receipts. Naturally, this deficit has since increased; it is estimated that at the end of 1915 it will amount to at least 300,000,000 francs, (\$60,000,000.)

But this direct cost is only a small part of the total cost of the war to Switzerland. Her economic loss is also exceedingly heavy. In fact, Switzerland gives the impression of a country whose economic life has been violently interrupted. Whether we consider her railroad traffic, her foreign commerce, or her internal production, there is apparent a veritable economic stagnation.

Therefore the Swiss, like all neutrals, need peace. But no more than the French can they desire that, in five years, in ten years, a new conflict should burst out; quite the contrary. What they need, as we do, is to be certain that the balance of Europe will no longer be menaced by German ambitions; what they need is that Germany, which has been the ceaseless troublemaker, should be beaten down and permanently deprived of the power to do harm.

A Ray to Cut Through Wires

A Petrograd dispatch to The London Morning Post, dated Aug. 20, 1915, says:

I hear that the Germans have now some mysterious scientific device for clearing a way through wire entanglements from a considerable distance. The instrument has all the appearance of what is known as a projector—that is, a searchlight. No specimen has yet been captured, and nothing is known about it, except that it disposes of wire entanglements from a distance of a mile by some means at present incomprehensible to the lay mind.

Greek fire projectors have now made their appearance on the western front. These also were apparently intended originally to fuse wire defenses, but they can only operate from a maximum of a couple of score of yards. The new instrument must probably be some novel application of electric forces.

Looking Ahead

By H. G. Wells

This article by Mr. Wells appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle.

HE war has lasted a year, and we are growing accustomed to it. At first it presented itself to our minds as a rapid dramatic catastrophe. We are now able to regard it as a state of affairs. It seemed to be the end of the world, when it was merely the end of an age. It turns out to be neither so destructive nor so terrible as we expected. We are prepared to consider it calmly, as something that may go on for another year or for another two years. We have experience enough in England now to contrast life under war conditions with life under the plethoric conditions that preceded the war. We are in a position to estimate something of the changes that are in progress, and to frame some conception of the changes still to come.

On the whole I think most thoughtful people will be ready to confess that what one might call the normal peace life of the world, the life of home and harvest, has proved to be a stabler, tougher thing than they had imagined. Not only over the still neutral areas, but over ninetynine-hundredths of the belligerent countries the usual crops are standing, and will be gathered, the children are still playing, the pot still boils. Famine is represented only by fractional rises in the price of food; pestilence has been held off. There are no signs of exhaustion anywhere. There are local desolations, but if they were blacked out upon a three-foot globe they would scarcely be perceptible. There has been a great deflection of industrial energy into the manufacture of purely destructive mateial, but as yet that has produced no marked evil results upon the general life. It has been balanced to some slight extent by a decreased production of luxuries. War is, I still believe, the profoundly evil consummation of evil conditions of human life, but that does not blind me to the fact that England is today a cleaner, harder, brighter, and finer country than it was last August. It is sweeter-spirited, and on the whole it is happier than it was a year ago.

Along the "front," which amounts altogether to a strip of country rather over a thousand miles long and twenty wide, about 25,000 men are being killed or wounded or made captive every week; vast treasures of physical energy that can never more be recovered by mankind are being wasted in shell and mine explosions; but this does not affect the obstinate normality of the bulk of human lives. Whatever processes of general change are going on are not catastrophic, but secular, changes; they are changes perhaps deeper and broader, and in their deep, broad way more rapid, but otherwise not different in quality from the gradual changes of the peace state.

If an American who had been in England in 1913 or early in 1914 were to revisit this country today he would notice no perceptible ebbing of the national life; in many ways, indeed, it would seem much fuller. London, it is true, is not so brilliantly lit at night nor so crowded with idlers, and there are fewer theatrical productions; the Court has become inconspicuous; the West End shops concentrate upon war novelties; a larger proportion of women prefer to be out of the fashion, and there are everywhere, in town and country alike, great multitudes of soldiers. If our American was very observant he would notice a diminution in the number of big, expensive automobiles upon the road and an increase of cheaper American types. * * * There would be many such intimations of changing conditions, but no revolutionary differences.

The omnipresent soldiers would most impress the American visitor. In 1914 there were few soldiers to be seen in England, except here and there where there was a garrison or in such a spe-

cially military district as the Aldershot region; now in London every third man is in khaki, and the countryside everywhere is alive with marching troops, artillery being exercised, and columns of transport and horses. And the quality of these troops is manifestly of a better type socially than the old army. They are not only brown and extraordinarily fit, but alert looking and intelligent. The average chest measurement in England must have increased by some inches in the last twelvemonth. It is rare, indeed, now to see a good-looking, well-built youth out of uniform. And something more than the chest measurement has changed. Our American visitor would presently begin to realize the deep significance underlying this "khakification" of England. The flower of British manhood has left desk and counter, lecture room and plow, butler's pantry and factory bench, to become the finest democratic army the world has ever seen. They have not been called out by compulsory service under the rather irksome conditions of peace; they have been called out by a vast emergency, romantically and generously.

Between two and three million young men who under normal conditions would have drudged on rather dully at the profit-seeking routines of industrial and commercial life have been touched to heroic intentions and introduced to a life hardier, more healthful, and more stirring to the imagination than anything that seemed possible to them in 1914. They will not go back in the old spirit to their former lives. They may become better disciplined, but they will be less submissive. They are not only serving their country; these men are taking possession of their country. They are camped in parks that were once protected from trespassers; they are billeted in houses that once excluded every stranger; they are seeing the railways administered by the Government for the common weal. Their womenkind are assured of separation allowances and, if they are injured, they get pensions; they are no longer liable to dismissal at short notice. All the resources of the country are for the men who serve their country now-a doctrine that may easily be extended from war-time to peace-time. It extends already from the fighting forces to the munition makers, to the miners, to the productive worker generally. That is the first great change that is perceptibly dawning upon England, this new valuation of service as something more important than property. It is a change that may go on to extraordinary consequences. That England is all colored khaki is the mere superficial first intimation of these.

This pulling up of all the multitude of young men from the roots on which they have grown, this invigorating transplanting of them, does not end with the mere army and navy. If our American were to push his inquiries below the surface he would discover that in relation to these khaki myriads, myriads of other people, men and women, are being shifted about into new occupations, people's homes are invaded by billeted troops, women are taking up men's work in countless spheres, tradition and prejudice are vanishing, countrysides are changing in character. For an overwhelming mass of the population habit is being destroyed and totally new relationships are being substituted. The strength of English conservatism has always been long established social habit. We had become an unenterprising people, because we had never been obliged to shift. We were fairly comfortable as we were. * * * This war has shifted us. England is mobile and plastic today, as it has never been before. England has fused. England, which was a rock, is alive.

And what is true of England is probably even more true of every one of the belligerent countries, and even of the neutral countries within the radius of the war influence. Social and economic conditions that seemed frozen forever into certain forms are now molten. They may not remain molten, they may set and crystallize again presently into a new series of forms and traditions, but those will not be the old forms and traditions. Nineteen hundred and fourteen is ancient history. Only old women and British politicians dream of returning in England to that vanished state of affairs,

of finishing the war and reviving the Ulster dispute and the dispute about the Welsh Establishment, and all the extinct bickerings of that remote period. It is the same everywhere. Enormous readjustments and reconstructions are inevitable. To a certain extent they will be foreseen and designed; to a much larger extent they will just happen, fate deciding among the divisions and indecisions and pettiness and self-seeking of men.

Let us speculate a little upon the probable forms that will be established when presently a new phase of comparative stability is attained. I will assume that the war regimen will continue for Europe for at least another year. Neither side, it is clear, will or can give in until it is decisively beaten, and there is far less appearance now of any such decisive ending than there was a year ago, when the Germans marched upon Paris and had Calais for the taking. We have to clear our minds of the idea of a possible internal collapse on either side. I will assume, too, that whatever happens the United States will remain morally above the possibility of participation in the struggle. One thing follows upon these assumptions almost inevitably. The United States will take the financial sceptre out of the hands of London and become the country of rich men, the usurer country, to which all other countries will be in debt. An exhausted Germany will face the peace with no gold and enormously depreciated paper currency; France and Great Britain will be in a scarcely better position. For the necessary capital for peace recuperation, just as much as for war supplies, they must look to America. England will cease to be the "fat" land of the world; that doubtful privilege of fatness will pass across the Atlantic. That does not mean that the American common man will be any better off than he is at present, a rise in prices will probably make him practically worse off, but that the American plutocrat will become the financial master of the world. One practical consequence of the world's debt to America will be that imports will rise against and exceed exports. There will be more prosperity and less stimulus in American life. The United States will in fact tend toward the pre-war conditions of Great Britain, and will in many ways take her place in the world's affairs.

The social effect of the war upon the belligerent communities seems likely to be of a quite unanticipated character. It is not the common people who are paying most for this war, it is the propertyowner and the share-holding class. Because of the comparatively restricted areas of the actual fighting the destruction of the ordinary civil life of the community has been less than any one would have dared to hope a year ago. And because it is before everything else a war of gear and millions, it has been more necessary in this war than it has ever been in any preceding war to keep the mass of the population favorably disposed and actively and willingly co-operative. A vast proportion of England's internal expenditure upon the war has gone in wages and billeting allowances, separation allowances, and so forth to our own people. There were anticipations last year of wide unemployment and distress; there is and has been less unemployment and, in spite of rising prices, less distress, than in normal peace years. The poorer classes have experienced no class disaster by this war. On the other hand, as one specimen of the securer classes, I find the carefully arranged system of investments upon which I had relied for my old age and for my widow's security has depreciated by about 30 per cent. We are fighting this war very largely on our savings, on our social fat; the whole community is being impoverished, but, relatively, the rich are getting poorer and the poorer better off. Much wealth is being destroyed, but much wealth is also being distributed. From being a rich plutocratic community, infested by non-functional investors, England while the war lasts is tending -not, indeed, toward ruin, but toward a general economic mediocrity.

The modern war regimen tends to destroy plutocracy and substitute an economic democracy; it also tends to convert all classes of the community to the advantages of collective over individual enterprise. The disadvantages of chaotic

individualism have been demonstrated in this war by a thousand striking instances that should fill the socialist textbooks of the coming years. The England, therefore, that emerges from this war will be a leaner and more experienced and more democratic England, with its habits of acquiescence and chaotic "freedom" broken, and its imagination touched to activity. Something analogous will have happened to all the European communities.

Through the silences enforced by the necessities of war it is apparent that no European people is altogether satisfied with the Governments that have made and failed to triumph in this conflict. It is not too much to expect that the end of the war will prepare the way for a very grave and extensive series of attempts to reconstruct these Governments upon the lines and suggestions of these experiences-in other words, it will prepare the coming of a period of revolution. This may not follow immediately upon the war. Pacification will be the first aim of the European mind, and at the end of the war the dominant idea will be the desperate resolve to establish some sort of peace alliance that shall prevent a recurrence of this war. It will be as the concentration upon this end relaxes, in the nineteen-twenties, let us say, and as international interest becomes fatigued and less urgent, that the revolutionary forces that are now gathering will come into play. And they may not come into play as insurrectionary forces. England in 1832 showed that there can be revolution without insurrection, just as Norway and Sweden have shown there can be separation without war. The revolutions of the twentieth century may be brought about by the conviction of reasonable men.

Toward what forms will the revolutionary forces of the twentieth century drive? Here it is that a man's desires and persuasions and fears most blind and confuse him.

The world is sick of dynasts; but also it is sick of party politicians; the dream of strong men dictators is the dream of despair. Democracy has still to work out some method of discussing its affairs more satisfactory than the venal newspaper; it has to determine upon some way of choosing its rulers, some electoral method that is proof against the manipulation of the party organization. With every step away from individualism toward social organization the need for these solutions becomes more urgent. But this is an intellectual task, and the popularization of constructive ideas is a process much more subtle and less calculable than the development of revolutionary forces. That there will be a vast revolutionary effort toward republicanism and a higher level of social and economic organization as the outcome of this war is almost a certain thing; but what that effort will achieve, how far it may not be tricked, misled, divided against itself, and defeated, lies among the dramatic secrets of the future.

A Message to King George

By KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM.

In reply to a telegram received from King George on the occasion of the anniversary of the ultimatum addressed to Belgium by Germany, the King of the Belgians sent the following message, dated at Havre, France, Aug. 5, 1915:

I express to you my deep gratitude for the telegram which you have sent me and my unshakable conviction that the efforts of the allied armies will lead to a peace founded on the triumph of justice. Having at the outset sacrificed herself in order to safeguard her honor and to remain faithful to the treaties which insured her autonomous existence and the very equilibrium of Europe, Belgium will continue to do her duty until the end, in spite of the suffering and mourning with which she is overwhelmed. Your fresh expression of sympathy touches me profoundly, and from my heart I give you the assurance of my devoted attachment.

The Under Side—A Hospital and a Hostel

By Arnold Bennett

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This article originally appeared in The London Daily News, and is here printed by express permission of Mr. Bennett.

HEN I paid a visit to the chief military hospital in London, an establishment which is the administrative head of thirtysix London hospitals with accommodation for 3,000 wounded, the exceedingly benevolent Colonel in charge took me first to the X-ray room, which clearly for him was the heart of the organism. My imagined perspective of a hospital was at once rather violently altered. The opaque blinds of the laboratory were drawn down, producing black darkness, and my hand was X-rayed as a matter of form, but the interest began with the exhibitions of numberless large photographic negatives of heads, shoulders, wrists, and other parts of the human body.

In each of these a small faint blur showed the situation of a projectile which had entered the flesh on some battlefield in France or Belgium. The wounded man, part of whose frame was the subject of the photograph, had been transported to the base hospital in motor and train, across the Channel in steamer, to London in one of the grandiose trains of the War Office, and to the hospital in motor; and his tragedy had suddenly become a speck on a glass plate; or, rather, a speck on two glass plates, for of every suitable wound two photographs are taken. And the surgeon was professionally less occupied with the man than with these telltale plates, which he would hold up in the air in order to peer at them. On a table was a measuring apparatus with strings and other devices.

"As we take two photographs at different angles," said the Colonel, "it is obvious that the wound must be at the point where the two strings cross each other, and the distance of that point from the surface is automatically shown on this inch rule. So that the surgeon operating knows exactly where he is."

And we gazed almost passionately at the point where the two strings met, which had neither length nor breadth, which had nought but a geometrical existence—and it was the tragedy of some man lying upstairs! The organization of the German Army and the organization of the British Army met and canceled each other out in that intersection of two bits of yellow string—the total impersonalization of war.

After the X-ray room in importance came the kitchen, whose walls were hung with framed diplomas won in culinary contests. The kitchens were like those of a large hotel, except that they were much airier and that the cooks saluted.

"Give your patients well-cooked meals," said the Colonel, "and they will stand anything without a murmur. Give them poor meals, and nothing else will please them."

From which it was apparent that a military hospital is very much like the outside world. Thence I was led to the operating room, of which the chief preoccupation seemed to be sterilizing. I saw that surgical instruments had grown simpler with the advance of the craft, and I learned that the patient was not put under the anaesthetic in the operating room itself, amid all the terror-striking apparatus of his ordeal, but in an apartment adjoining.

Everywhere was the peculiar inexplicable gay serenity of a good hospital. The immense wards were, of course, full of flowers, for no hospital that respects itself would be without many flowers. But there was more than the gayety of flowers in those wards. There was an extraordinary contentment, even in the entirely crippled man who wheeled himself about very slowly from room to room, and in the man who sat up in bed meticulously washing his face and hands, and in the calm, pale countenances of those who lay prostrate and quite motionless beneath their white coverlets. I imagine that it signified the peace of being withdrawn from the world.

In the ward allocated to officers, however, the world had surged in; it was the visiting hour for officers, and women were clustered in armchairs around many of the beds. A pianola in the middle distance was performing Chopin in the most brilliant manner. Here flowers blossomed even thicker than elsewhere, and between the beds were screens, creating corners of privacy. In a hospital the principal difference between an officer and a ranker appears to be that an officer has his tea out of his own earthenware, and the crockeries of no two officers are alike. I saw various specimens in a pantry close by, waiting to be called for.

While I regarded the enormous bower, screened everywhere with foliage, and the serene gossiping groups around the beds, each bed a throne, and while I listened to the virtuoso pianola, a grave suspicion crossed my mind. Was it not notorious that the authorities of institutions invariably concealed things from inspectors such as myself?

"But where are the serious cases?" I asked.

"They are scattered about the hospital," answered the Colonel, with placidity. "There are several here in this ward. That is one, there; and three beds further on is another. You can't see under the counterpanes, you know."

I should never have suspected the existence of serious cases in that ward. The revelation made me uneasy and rather afraid. And these sensations were intensified when, after indicating the nurses' tennis court, and the mortuary, the Colonel took me along a slope into the Memorial Chapel, with its

stained glass, its altar, and its walls incised and painted with the cenotaphs of dead soldiers. There was one comprehensive inscription: "To all who have fallen ——."

"Very many of my old friends are here," said the Colonel, quietly.

I seemed to understand for the first time the solemnity of the military tradition of Britain.

On the same day I lunched at a hostel for soldiers and sailors blinded in the war (only no sailors have yet been blinded in the war) organized and superintended by C. Arthur Pearson, who is Chairman of the Blinded Soldiers and Sailors' Care Committee, in a palace called St. Dunstan's, Regent's Park, lent by an American banker. The palace has a garden of fifteen acres, into which runs an arm of the Regent's Park Lake. On the waters of this gulf, by the way, blind soldiers practice rowing, which is considered to be the finest of all exercises for the blind.

It was in the ballroom of the palace that I heard the Bishop of London, sitting at ease in a chair, and crossing and uncrossing his legs, recount, with many jokes, his Easter experiences at the front to about forty blinded soldiers (including one or two officers) and their nurses. Unseeing eyes gazed at us out of white bandages; black spectacles glared at us; some eyes were closed; others were bent toward the invisible ground.

"Now, when I was at St. Omer," the Bishop would say, and, interrupting himself, "Were any of you at St. Omer? Hold your hands up if you were."

And up would go hands. And then the Bishop would name another place, and up would go other hands; and battlefield after battlefield was thus recalled. This, indeed, brought the war home to London; it was very pathetic.

If not the Bishop of London, then other entertainers divert the guests of the hostel every afternoon after luncheon for about an hour. And then lessons are resumed.

"How do you begin?" I asked Mr. Pearson.

"We begin," said Mr. Pearson, with

that exuberant, energetic, twinkling brightness that nothing can conquer, "we begin by teaching them to be blind."

I think there was more in this phrase than a seeing person could explain in two columns. It seemed to mean a recommencement of life, a transmutation of all sorts of values, a complete change of attitude toward the phenomena of existence. The results are astonishing. At least they were astonishing to me, who was quite unfamiliar with such activities as I saw in the palace. It was astonishing to me to watch blind carpenters making complicated cupboards, and blind cobblers knocking minute nails with certainty into the soles of boots, and blind craftsmen making the most variegated baskets and mats. The massage class, where men learn the one craft in which the blind can surpass the seeing, I did not reach. But I saw the typewriting department, and when the instructress of one of the men, herself totally blind, took down a letter in Braille shorthand from dictation and typed it out on the typewriter, with absolute assurance and exactitude, I had nothing to say; the tears came into my eyes-the thing was so marvelous and so touching. Nearly all the teachers in the Braille section are voluntary. Branches of instruction beyond the palace include poultry farming, market gardening, and telephone operating.

The palace was, if possible, even more cheerful than the hospital. In the case of most of the inmates hope, ambition, and curiosity had already been fairly reestablished in those minds ravaged by what at first must seem an overwhelming disaster. The profound lesson of "being blind" had been in the main learned. It was miraculous. And these men were prodigies. But they were also martyrs. We are all of us their debtors.

The hostel is now so organized that it expects with proper financial help to be able to deal with all soldiers blinded or to be blinded in the war. It is managed under the joint auspices of the British Red Cross Society, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and the National Institute for the Blind. It has received a considerable contribution from the Prince of Wales Fund. But the State has no hand in it. The State-that is, our collective selves-pays none of these heroes, prodigies, and martyrs more than 17s. 6d. a week-at the outside. Such is the official recompense of a supreme sacrifice. Let us remember this when the question of disabled soldiers' and sailors' pensions next comes up for review.

Afterwards

By GEORGINA B. PAGET.

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

Last night I dreamed he came to me, My soldier and my saint;
Somewhere, far off, an earthly sea Beat desolate and faint;
In a dim twilight place we met,
No world before, behind.
I could not see his face, and yet I knew his eyes were kind.
No words; he knew my heavy part—
Longing that may not cease—
And, knowing that he knew, my heart
Fell upon utter peace.
And then I woke—a late cock crew,
The clocks were chiming seven—
O God! if Heaven be dreams come true
We need not dream, in Heaven.



GENERAL KROBATIN
Austria-Hungary's Minister of War
(Photo from Bain News Service)



King of Bavaria, Who Addressed the People of Munich After the Fall of Warsaw, Prophesying a Permanent Extension of Germanic Frontiers

The Nation That Died for Europe

By G. K. Chesterton

This is one of the first articles written by Mr. Chesterton since his recent illness. It appeared in the British press on Aug. 6, 1915.

HOPE you will grant me space to say a few words about the Belgians still in Belgium. Naadmirable efforts of the tional Committee for Relief in Belgium are going a long way to avert famine, but if the million and a half destitute Belgians are to be kept alive the National Committee must have yet further support. The only conceivable cause of doubt in the matter must lie in the mere weariness in well-doing, produced not by any intellectual difficulty, but by such wholly unintellectual things as time and fatigue. I think, therefore, the best way of preventing any possible neglect of so great a matter is to repeat once more the great truths upon which rested the whole original claim, not so much on our sympathy as on our common honesty. The simplicity and enormity of the Belgian story can best be set forth, perhaps, in four truisms, all toweringly self-evident.

First, of course, the mere badness of the story is almost too big to be held in the mind. There have been stories of a woman or a child actually robbed of reason for life by the mere ocular shock of some revolting cruelty done in their There was really a danger presence. of something of the kind paralyzing our protest against the largest and, by the help of God, the last of the crimes of the Prussian Kings. The onlookers might have been struck into a sort of gibbering imbecility, and even amiability, by the full and indefensible finality of the foul stroke. We had no machines that could measure the stunning directness of the blow from hell. We could hardly realize an enormous public act which the actor did not wish to excuse, but only to execute. such an act was the occupation of Belgium; almost the only act in history for which there was quite simply and literally nothing to be said. Bad history is the whole basis of Prussia; but even in bad history the Prussians could find no precedent and no palliation; and the more intelligent Prussians did not A few were so feeble-minded as to say they had found dangerous documents in Brussels, as if what they had done could possibly be excused by things they did not know when they did This almost piteous lapse in argument was, however, covered up by the cleverer Prussians as quickly as might be. They perferred to stand without a rag of reason on them than with such a rag as that. Before we come to the monstrous material suffering, there is in the existing situation an abstract unreason, nay, an abstract insanity, which the brain of man must not bear. nightmare must not abide to the end. The tiniest trace of Prussian victory that remains will make us think of something which is not to be thought of; of something like the victory of the beasts over mankind.

Second, it must be remembered that this murder has been done upon a people of such proximity and familiarity that there cannot be any mistake about the matter. There is some shadowy justification for the comparative indifference to the wrongs of very remote peoples, for it is not easy for us to guess how much slavery shocks a negro or cannibalism a cannibal. But the innkeepers and shopkeepers of Ostend felt exactly as the innkeepers and shopkeepers of Dover would feel. We have to imagine a prehistoric cruelty coming suddenly upon a scene which was civilized and almost commonplace. Imagine tigers breaking out of the Zoological Gardens and eating all the people in Albany Street; imagine red Indians exhibited at Oypmpia literally scalping every passer-by from that place to Hammersmith Broadway; imagine Jack the Ripper crowned King of Whitechapel, and conducting his executions in broad daylight outside the tube station at Aldgate; imagine as much as you can of what is violent and contradictory in an overturn of all modern life by troglodytes; and you are still falling short of this fearful Belgian scene in that familiar Belgian scenery. It is idle to talk of exaggerations or misrepresentations about a case so close to us. Chinese tortures may not be quite so fantastic as travelers tell us; Siberia may not be so desolate as its fugitives say it is; but we could no more invent such a massacre in Belgium than we could a massacre in Balham. The things of shameless shame that have been done are something worse than prodigies, worse than nightmares, worse than devilries; they are facts.

Third, this people we have heard of daily have endured this unheard-of thing, and endured it for us. There are countless cases for compassion among the bewildering and heartrending by-products of this war, but this is not a case for compassion. This is a case for that mere working minimum of a sense of honor that makes us repay a poor man who has advanced his last penny to post a letter we have forgotten to stamp.

In this respect Belgium stands alone; and the claims even of other allies may well stand aside till she is paid to the uttermost farthing. There has been self-sacrifice everywhere else; but it was self-sacrifice of individuals, each for his own country; the Serbian dying for Serbia, or the Italian for Italy. But the Belgian did not merely die for Belgium. Belgium

died for Europe. Not only was the soldier sacrificed for the nation; the nation was sacrificed for mankind. It is a sacrifice which is, I think, quite unique even among Christians, and quite inconceivable among pagans. If we even privately utter a murmur, or even privately grudge a penny for binding the wounds of so solitary and exceptional a martyr, we ourselves shall be something almost as solitary and exceptional. We shall, perhaps, be nearest to the state of that unspeakable sociologist who persuaded his wife to partake of a simultaneous suicide, and then himself cheerfully lived on.

Fourth, if there be any one on this earth who does not find the final success of such crime more than the mind can bear: if there be any one who does not feel it as the more graphic since it walks among the tramway lines and lampposts of a life like our own; if there be any one who does not feel that to be caught napping about Belgium is like being caught robbing one's mother on her deathbed, there still remains a sort of brutal compassion for bodily pain, which has been half admitted here and there even by the oppressors themselves. If we do not do a great deal more even than we have already done, it may yet be said of us that we left it to the very butchers of this nation to see that it did not bleed to death.

I, therefore, plead for further help for the members of the National Committee, who have taken this duty upon themselves. All subscriptions can be addressed to the Treasurer at Trafalgar Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, or to local committees where they have been formed.

A Letter from Sir John French

In a recent speech delivered in London, Ben Tillett, the British labor leader, who had just returned from a visit to the battle front, read the following letter from Sir John French, Commanding in Chief the British Forces in France:

I sincerely trust your visit to the front and experience have been helpful and convincing. Our armies are doing splendid work, and more men and more material must be immediately forthcoming to back up the zeal and grit of our fighting force. Our men in the field are looking to the nation to vigorously back them up. Energetic measures and concentration of our national resources to secure greater efficiency will lessen the loss of life by limiting the duration of the war.

A Year of the War in France

By Emile Faguet, Frederic Masson, and Jean Richepin of the French Academy; Victor Berard; Alfred Capus and Rene Bazin of the French Academy

These articles were published in the French original by Les Annales of Paris.

A Year of War

By Emile Faguet

Member of the French Academy

YEAR of war behind us. Before us, no one knows, no one in the world. Let us come to ourselves and pass again the road we have traveled, in order to bring back our successive impressions to us. This is, perhaps, not unprofitable in order to gain a firm standing ground, and to face the future with serenity.

First came Germany's threats, the decree of mobilization. The blow was sudden and heavy. The President of the French Republic said indeed, as was his duty, "Mobilization is not war"; but no one, any more than he, was deceived, and men looked at each other firmly, but with straitened heart and thoughtful brow.

Then the declaration of war, the tocsin sounding through all the countrysides of France, the decisive words; words, I mean, full of decision:

"It is done, the lot is cast. Let every one rise to the call of duty."

All rose to the call. No one was downcast. Men felt themselves at a terrible turning point of history; but they were firm, looking fate in the face. The sight of the mobilization was such, too, as to give courage. It was accomplished with admirable order and precision. There was not an accident, not a hitch, not a delay. That part of our preparation was evidently perfect. Confidence, I will not say, was born, but, so to speak, it grew more substantial.

An incident arouses the nation's joy. Mulhouse is occupied. A short-lived joy. The feat of arms, which remains fine, was risky. We are forced to leave Mulhouse, which is threatened, and move backward. But our hearts are untroubled by it, and remain firm and valiant.

A graver check; we are bent back at Charleroi, for lack of adequate munitions, without doubt, and this withdrawal necessarily entails that of our whole battle-front. By forced marches, the enemy reaches Compiègne, then Senlis. Paris is threatened.

By General Joffre's imperious order, a quick right-about, admirably carried out, of the whole army of the east, supported by the army of Paris. An immense and furious battle. It is won all along the line. From that moment General Joffre is the object of the admiration, the love, the fullest confidence of France. He is the man of the victory of the Marne; the future, the early liberator of our territory. The whole world is watching him.

The enemy changes his method. He adopts the intrenched retreat. He burrows holes; he digs into the earth and hides there. As elsewhere there is submarine war, in France there is subterranean war.

We accept this method and adopt it, taking the new qualities which it demands—endurance, tenacity, obstinacy.

It is war mile by mile, village by village, house by house; for, on the one side as on the other, everything becomes a fortress to be besieged and carried. This war, of necessity, is slow; but it is advantageous to us, because it lends itself to our best weapons—cannon and bayonet.

So we make continual progress in it, day by day. Four principal war regions—Alsace, the Heights of the Meuse, the Argonne, and the banks of the Yser. At first the struggle is intense in the Argonne, where we contest the ground foot by foot, in a country of forests, valleys, ravines, exceedingly difficult. We make continuous progress, wasting the enemy day by day, inflicting losses on him which he himself recognizes as enormous.

Then it is the campaign of the Yser, in the partly flooded Flemish plains. Prodigies of heroism are accomplished there, and the enemy is pushed back.

Then, on parallel lines, the two campaigns of Artois and Alsace. The enemy, on the one hand, is pushed away from Arras; on the other hand, he abandons, little by little, the mountainous part of Alsace, where he was formidably intrenched and organized. He defends himself furiously, but always retreating, always exhausting himself in efforts. He invents new methods of destruction against us-asphyxiating bombs, grenades, clouds of noxious gas; nothing shakes the courage of our warriors, and nothing prevails over their energy or their confidence in France, in their Generalissimo, in their leaders and themselves. This year of war will have been the year of French heroism, as also of a strategy firm, prudent, cold, and obstinate in its purposes.

At that point we stand. At the moment in which I write there is a relative lull, a nearly stationary condition. It is probable, it is almost certain, that there is a shortage of munitions, on the one side and on the other. But we know that our workshops are working in such a way that the fight can go on, as, in fact, it does go on, and that we shall not be taken shorthanded. What this year has proved is that we are, in the last analysis, invincible, even after a

check, even after a retreat; that we have immense resources and an incalculable power of recovery. In these conditions we can view the future coolly and steadily, and with the assurance that it will give us final victory.

There is an immense power in this, that there exists between the army and the noncombatant population a "sacred union," which never slackens, and a continuous communication, so to speak, of confidence, of hope, and of will. Our children who fight sustain us by their ardor, their lightheartedness, gayety. We sustain them by the absolute confidence which we have in them and by the ardent tenderness with which they know that we surround them. In this way it is the whole of Franceyoung men, women, old folk-which holds on and endures the shock, opposing to it an immense force and a gigantic effort.

Thanks to this, thanks also to our valiant allies, who with us defend the independence of the world, we are conquering and accomplishing our mission of civilization. We shall re-establish peace in the universe by reducing to impotence the nation whose industry is war, and which can think of the world only as dominated by itself.

We shall re-establish peace by the union of the peoples who wish to live free, independent, self-governed, and respecting the independence of others. We shall re-establish peace in justice, instead of establishing it, as others dream, in prolonged and permanent violence.

That is the true divine task, and we can say not "God is with us," but "We are with God." If there be anything godlike, what is it but a world peopled with nations self-governed and who, working in peace, guarantee firmly, jealously—all the liberty of each, each the liberty of all.

Let us continue to labor at this task with pure heart, with serene conscience, with unconquerable hope. France will come forth from these trials, so valiantly accepted, so bravely undergone, with a moral beauty which, however grand her past, she has never possessed so full and radiant.

1789—1815—1915

By Frederic Masson

Member of the French Academy

7ILL history this time serve for Will her lesson be something? Exactly a hundred understood? years ago events took place in Paris and in France which had as consequence a disastrous defeat, a foreign invasion whose march no national effort could arrest, the shameful capitulation of the capital, the dismemberment of the national territory, the disbanding of the army, the execution of the bravest citizens with a travesty of justice, and, during three years, France held in tutelage by Europe. And what was that but the closure of one cycle of that long period of civil wars and intestine dissensions which, begun in 1789, lasted until last year?

An immense conspiracy is formed, the more redoubtable that it has neither formal plan nor organization. It is the unanimous revolt of affections, interests, passions, convictions. Thus, when the leader returns from the island in which he was believed to be imprisoned, an immense acclamation rings out, and, from Grenoble to the Tuileries, he is borne on the shoulders of soldiers and citizens. But now, as twenty-three years before, to form the unity once more, the loyalty of one part of the nation is not enough; it is necessary to demand obedience from all, if it is impossible to inspire enthusiasm and sacrifice in all. Traitors must feel a continuous watch kept on them, that their first attempt to communicate with the foreigners will bring a hand of iron upon them to punish them. All commerce with the Princes, who have fled again, must meet the same punishment; all enterprises against the defense of the nation-whatever they may be, from whatever source-must be immediately stopped by ruthless examples.

On the contrary, everything is prepared, everything is organized for the betrayal. Treason is at home in the General Staff of the Army, in the Min-

istries, in prefectures, in the frontier towns; all these men who were thought to be won by ribbons, decorations, posts, salaries, have been bought, but have quickly given themselves up, and impatiently await the moment when they can receive from their lawful Princes what they owe to the usurper. No one can tell to what depths intrigue extended nor what a range it had. Marshals of the empire betray, Generals of division pass over to the enemy, commanders of forts give up their fortresses! Astonishing and terrible spectacle which would make us doubt the soul of France, were it not for the people and the soldiers, the good stuff of which France is made.

And then the abyss! And, when they have surrendered their fatherland, these aristocrats of old or recent date, there comes the terror-white, this timeagainst all who have trusted the promises of amnesty, who have believed in the capitulations; proscriptions, executions, the guillotine, five years during which the royalists are busy rebuilding, for their own profit, by special tribunals, provosts' courts or councils of war, a sham unity, while Europe, by its four Ambassadors, imposes degredation on our nation, commands, demands the disbanding of the army, the dismantling of fortresses, the proscription of her best citizens-and holds France, our France, in servitude!

A century has passed. This shameful spectacle of France surrendering and selling herself, in giving up and selling her leader—this spectacle that one cannot recall without an angry catch in the throat, a trembling of the whole being, a sweat of agony—behold it effaced by the sublime spectacle which we are watching. Without doubt there has been weakness; there have been flights that inspire disgust; there has been attempted treason, which the masses have done justice to; there have been indi-

vidual acts of cowardice, which were aroused, protected, by those who should have checked them; there have been safe places where tender youths have taken refuge against the perils to be faced; but all this cannot count against the passion of patriotism and glory, in which are mingled all generations, all classes, all parties; there is only one party, France; there are no longer peasants, middle class, workmen, and mastersthere are Frenchmen. In the best, the wisest, the bravest, all recognize the right to command and the right to die first; and over the corpse of a Sub-Lieutenant or a Captain conflicts rage in which all men seem Homeric heroes, uttering the same cries, making the Whatever happens, same gestures. whether we are crushed under certain victory or survive for days that will be radiant, perhaps, and, perhaps, still blood-stained, we shall have for a year drunk from the chalice of the gods a wine that transforms us; we shall have lived sublime hours, hours each one of which is worth a life, in which we join in the communion of faith. There are no longer, whatever an agitator may have said, either poor or rich among those who, French to the core, know nothing of unwholesome profits and rotten speculations; there are men who, with equal heart, endure ruin, offering to the country the few pence that remain to them. What are they to live on tomorrow? They do not know, nor occupy their thoughts with that. First, we must conquer and be free.

To live in freedom or to die.

The Two Souls

By Jean Richepin

Member of the French Academy

THAT their soul and our soul constitute two souls absolutely irreducible, and even impenetrable, to each other is what is certain with a universal certitude.

The truth which we must have the courage to state, or, rather, to cry to the four corners of earth and heaven, to spread and impose its imperious evidence, is this—that not only to our soul in particular, but to the human soul in general, to the collective soul of humanity itself, remains and must remain incurably irreducible their soul, the thing without name which takes the place of the soul in them.

Let this not be taken for a lyrical exaggeration, in which breathes forth our hate! Not at all! I claim to speak simply, even coldly, in cold blood and quiet sense, in all sincerity, as in exact logic. And I shall give my arguments, submitted to the control of the strictest reason.

Two letters, extracts from which I shall quote, will serve me to measure, to

weigh, to gauge, and to judge the two souls. From them will be seen, in a dazzling light, what an abyss separates them forever, and that one soul, ours, is the very expression of the human soul, in all that is loftiest in it, while the other, theirs, shows and demonstrates itself to be, without any possible dispute, outside of humanity.

One of these letters has, nevertheless, as author one of their least debased spirits, a refined artist, a younger man of the very first rank among their writers. The other, in revenge, was written by the humblest of our little soldiers, almost illiterate. Both, moreover, are ingenuous and in good faith. And this is what makes the strength of their compared testimony.

The splendid verses in which the great Belgian poet Verhaeren branded with a hot iron the executioners of his sublime country will certainly be remembered. It is well known, too, that he has been often and enthusiastically fêted in Germany, that he had not only admirers but disciples there. It is one of these, Julius Bab, who has addressed an open letter to him, protesting against the indignant protest of his friend and master.

The letter is respectful, saturated with the old-time affection. It makes no accusation. It pities, it even defends Verhaeren against the charge of calumniating Germany when he described the Germanic Sadism, and the cut-off feet of children found in their soldiers' bagpipes. It is willing to believe that the poet has been the victim of malicious hearsay. None the less, it insists that, if the Belgians were martyred, it was their own fault, yes, because that tenacious race rose to commit a terrible murder against the soldiers of his nation. And as for the faults of Germany, he simply denies them, like any of the ninety-three intellectuals.

Forced, however, to admit that at least some of them are known, Julius Bab does not hesitate to excuse them thus:

"You could not know that, forced into a fight for her existence, Germany was obliged to violate a neutrality, which is now known to have been violated long before by the adverse party. You could know nothing of the terrible actions committed by the Belgian people, which forced our soldiers to a desperate defense."

And he does not hesitate, this refined Julius Bab, to affirm his solidarity in the last analysis with those whom Verhaeren calls Huns and Germanic Sadists. He writes, bravely:

"It is from the common run of these men that our spirit has been expanded. It would be pitiable and vulgar in us to seek, in the opinion and fate of the world, a lot other than theirs."

And he ends, after a touching picture of her doorkeeper, a soldier of the Landwehr who comes on furlough to kiss his wife and children, with these delicate lines:

"When he was gone, I felt my brain pierced, as by flames, by those abominable verses on the cut-off feet of children, which pretend to characterize our German soldiers." And do you know what he adds, this man of refinement? No, you cannot guess. Read!

"For a minute, I felt a burning shame for you, Poet Verhaeren."

After this, he again pities the noble poet, and, still respectful, expresses his poetical admiration for him in spite of everything, but declares that, by driving away his German brothers, Verhaeren has expelled him from his heart.

And now rid yourself from the slime of this Germanic soul by looking at a French soul, a human soul, in the letter of the little soldier Georges Belaud, a mere cook, who died a hero, and who, before his death, wrote, among other fine and tender things, these lines to his wife:

"Know well, if I die, I trust you perfectly, and ask of you to live to bring up my son to be a man, a man with a heart, and give him a good education, according to your means."

Readers, you will not look too closely at Belaud's style? Read only his soul. His style we have carefully left unchanged. Just as it is, our Society of Men of Letters has published it. Just as it is, the Hundred Club has had it printed by the pupils of the Ecole Estienne, on large paper de luxe, of folio size, to honor the memory of a cook, and also and above all to oppose with pride this letter of one of our humblest to the famous manifesto of the intellectuals. And let Julius Bab also profit by it, if he can! Let him learn on what moral plain, superior to his own, lives and dies a poor French workman, without other instruction than that of the primary school, but capable of thinking, of feeling, of leaving as his last testament such a phrase as this:

"And above all, my Yvonne, you will tell him, my son, when he grows up, that his father died for him, or, at least, for a cause which will be of service to him, to him and to all coming generations."

Oh! pitiable belated ones from beyond the Rhine, oh! heap of false supermen who are still so far from being true men, how many of these generations would be needed for you, these coming generations, in order that the soul of a Julius Bab should become merely capable of understanding the soul of a Georges Belaud?

Try to consider it a little, and at least grow conscious of your grossness, your baseness, oh! wretched people, and try to prove to us that, in spite of everything, you have the vague semblance of a soul, by weeping to find it so brutal and so poor.

French Foreign Policy and the War

By Victor Berard

TN March, 1905, his Majesty Wilhelm II., Emperor and King, made, with much stir, the Tangier journey and speech, to signify to France and to the world that he had found an obstacle in the way of his caprice and a refusal to obey his orders in the policy of Théophile Delcassé. In June, 1905, those of our statesmen who hoped to curry favor with the invincible Emperor by flatteries, by submissions, by unheard-of concessions, forced M. Delcassé out of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which he had presided over for seven years, (1898-1905.) In 1915, after ten years of slow but irrestible advance, justice has at last come to this man, and when a Frenchman thinks today of the servants of the fatherland, who, in history, will one day incarnate the resistance of French liberty and Latin civilization, against the absolutism and barbarism of the Germans, it is to two names from the Spanish frontier, two half-Catalonian Frenchmen, that his memory goes-Joffre, the man of the war, and Delcassé, the man of the period before the war.

Their tasks were alike. It is to Joffre that the merit of our military preparation redounds. Whatever may be the shortcomings, inherent, perhaps, in our national temperament and our parliamentary government, (England has met exactly the same,) the republic presented before the enemy other arms, if not other soldiers, than the empire of 1870. Lifting the broken sword of France, the Government of the National Defense earned the fatherland's gratitude and the admiration of humanity by prolonging the war for six or seven months (September, 1870-March, 1871)

in an unequal struggle against Prussian organization.

We are now in the twelfth month of our glorious resistance to an organization yet more complete, which expected to have made an end of us within a fortnight—a mere Lent before the great festivity, before the Germanic Easter of the slaying of the lamb and the gorging of Paris.

The France of 1870 found herself alone, without the alliance of a neighbor, without the help of a friend, without sympathy in the Old or the New World. The France of 1915 rests in the most faithful and potent allies that a nation has ever had at her side; and of the Triple Alliance of the Germans, of which M. de Bülow said, only a year ago, that it was "the rock of bronze" against which would come, only to be broken, all the assaults of the enemies of Germany, what remains today? A trio, from which Italy has withdrawn, to yield her place to the valiant but moribund Turkey, beside moribund Austria. And this is the work of Théophile Del-

It is he who, as soon as he reached his post, determined to take from Germany all our former friends whom the craft of Bismarck and certain imprudences of our own had robbed us of. Russia had already come back to us; since 1891 the Czar, "liberator of Europe," had conquered all his hesitations, all his prejudices, all his repugnances, to lay his sacrosanct hand in the somewhat revolutionary hand of Mariamne. But, in 1898, when Théophile Delcassé took the direction of our diplomacy, this Franco-Russian inti-

macy seemed to strengthen the understanding of all the other Western powers with the Germany of Wilhelm II.; the will of Berlin was the arbiter of Europe; the Emperor had at his disposal against us Austria and Italy, signatories of the Triple Alliance, on the Continent; he had also at his disposal, by means of Rome, another maritime triple alliance which England, Spain, and Italy had signed against us.

When in the tragic light of Fashoda (September-October, 1898) this situation of France became apparent to our statesmen, and when it was necessary to resign ourselves to the abandonment of a glorious adventure, Théophile Delcassé—I still hear him explaining his plan to me in the first days of November, 1898, a few weeks after Fashoda—swore he would remain in the Ministry only to reconcile France with all her western neighbors—England, Spain, and Italy—and to bring them all into the friendship of Russia in order to deliver Europe from the Prussian tyranny.

In 1905, after seven years of conciliatory negotiations, generous, cordial, but always firm, thanks to the two collaborators whose names will always be inseparable from his—Camille Barrère, our Ambassador at Rcme, and Paul Cambon, our Ambassador at London—thanks, above all, to the sovereign intervention

of that King Edward VII. to whom France, restored, will owe a better statue than one in the courtyard of a palacehotel, Théophile Delcassé had achieved his work. Even in 1902, he had been able to announce to the French Chamber that Italy would never allow herself to be made the instrument or the accomplice of an aggression against us; in 1904, the Franco-English and Franco-Spanish agreements announced to Europe that Bismarck's work was in ruins and that France was no longer encircled by enemies. The diplomatic preparation for the war was ending, from that time, by our triumph.

Between Joffre and Delcassé, it would be easy to show other resemblances—the same tenacity of hope, even at the least luminous hours; the same continuous effort, even at moments of half-success or of slight checks; the same confidence, silently held, in that inheritance of the oldest Latinism: Right, justice, the fatherland, the city, the nation, the people; the same capacity for pocketing the criticisms of the ignorant or the jealous, without answering otherwise than by added vigor in work and service. The French Pyrenees will have a very good right some day to raise statues to these two men, with an inscription in the Roman style: "To those who never despaired of the republic."

The Master Gunner

By Rene Bazin

Member of the French Academy

I was in these words, or nearly, that a gunner told me the story of his mate, Vincent Archambaut, master gunner of the first gun of the first battery.

To begin with, he loved his gun, did Archambaut. You understand, a man is not only some one in a battery, he is some one on a gun, that he knows it, has the trick of its character, and that he ends by getting on with it as if it were a human being. He was a model gunner.

When his "75" was in the battery, the trail resting on the ground, the spade well in, you saw big Archambaut seated between the wheel and the breech, according to regulation, his body erect, his neck a little on one side, his head bent forward, his eyes on the air-bubble of his spirit level, and his hands ready on the handles of the pointing mechanism. At the Captain's command he turned his wheels with certainty, stopping them at

the right place, and if the gun swung a bit out after the shot he brought it back again. We had a sort of confidence in him. A master gunner has two woolen stripes on his right arm and a red grenade on his left arm. He draws seven centimes. Isn't he a ranker? They all say so. Like the trumpets, who can't make up their minds to have no more rights than the men who make no racket. The question hasn't been settled, and will never be. What matter? Archambaut had our admiration; in case of danger we would have obeyed him naturally; he was born to be a fighter.

Still, fighting was not his trade. He belonged, by his family and his character, by his visage and his whole person, to the frontier races on the Sedan side, a big, quiet-faced chap, who put force and thought into every step he took. We didn't know much about him from what he said himself, and, as there were none of his neighbors in the battery, you may say we didn't know him at all. Sheep dealers, whom he had met at the fairs, declared that he was rich, having begun early to trade in grain and fodder; that he had even bought a quarter in a fine farm in the Champagne country, where the country rises a bit, gets wooded and is called the Argonne. I forgot to tell you that he was in the reserve, like me, and that the mobilization had mixed us and a few others in with the men of the active artillery.

On Oct. 21 we were resting, the guns limbered up, the horses cropping the grass of a clearing, fifty yards from a thicket of beeches and firs, and the whole country sloped gently up toward the north. Below us, wretched cut woods rose a little beyond. In a word, we had found shelter to breakfast without catching a shell. The sun was hot; the men were smoking; the Captain was walking up and down, his hands crossed behind his back, and I expect every one was beginning to think of his home, because he was feeling good. Suddenly an auto arrives by a wood road that our guns had had trouble getting along. The Captain chats an instant with the chauffeur; then he turns.

"Well, that's pretty good," I say, "Germans not far away!"

At the same time he calls out: "Reconnoitre!"

The guides get to their horses, the servers get to their caissons. We know it never takes long to reconnoitre, in the artillery. Already the Captain, the brigade fourrier, the farrier, and the second mechanician, with six horses dragging the observation caisson, had got out of the clearing. I saw them going up the path among the beeches on the trot. The cruppers of their horses no longer gleamed among the branches. All vanished, for the mists that had chilled us through on preceding nights had not yet brought down the leaves, and all the gold I didn't have was hanging from the branches.

I counted ten minutes; then the fourrier reappeared in the path, alone, bringing the order:

"Form in battery, right face!"

This time it was the whole battery that disappeared under the trees and climbed up the slope, bending the saplings, and marking its tracks on the trunks of the old trees, barked by the wheels. The thicket is no great size. We soon see daylight among the beeches, then the bushes on the fringe of the wood, a line of cut grass forming a crest on yonder, then nothing but the sky, with the misty aureole of the Autumn sun. As usual, we were going to fire at an invisible target. The four "75s" already know their places, which the Captain has staked out. They come up on the trot. The fourth gun turns to the left and gets into battery formation at the place where the trumpeter stands, under the fan of a huge beech; the position of the first is indicated by the brigade fourrier. The second and third get in between them.

The Captain comes down from his observation ladder and comes up to the first gun, that sets the pace. Big Archambaut is there, beside his gun, waiting for the word of command to aim. He looks white to me, though he is generally full-colored. I say to him:

"What's up with you? Are you cold?"

With the tip of his nose, which he raises, he points to the sun.

"You're surely not afraid of the Ger-

mans? They must be over there, beyond!"

Archambaut, who has always been stingy with words, shrugged his shoulders this time. The Captain was behind us, on his horse, rising a bit in his stirrups, and, pointing with his arm, he indicated the direction to the master gunner. The Captain was the only one who could see over the crest, and this is what he saw-we all had a good look at the view when the battle was over-he saw a long valley, a bit hollowed, quite bare, all tilled, which went away in front of us to about 3,000 yards, and which had at the other end woods like the woods we were in. You would have said a fishdish, with two tufts of parsley. In the whole hollow not a house, just a bit of hedge, a little tree, two roads that crossed. But at the north end of the valley, standing out clear in the light, you could make out the houses of a village, most of them grouped around the church on a level stretch to the left, some coming down the slope but as if held back by the others and not getting far from them.

Our Captain, who remembered that Archambaut belonged to those parts, asked him in a low voice quickly:

"You know the village of X?"

"Yes, my Captain."

"How far off, in your judgment?"

"Two thousand five hundred yards!" Immediately, drawing himself up, he gave the commands that were required, taking care to space them out, and the whole battery worked, I assure you, rapidly and silently—the master gunners, the servers, the openers, the loaders. He gave the command:

"Attention! On the first gun, reciprocal aim. Position angle O! Corrector 16, by the right, by battery, 2,500!"

When the breech of the first gun was swung to, and it did not take long, the gun commander, behind, raised his arm:

" For the first hit! Fire!"

The other gun commanders, each in his turn, gave the same command, and there were four roars of our "75s" at intervals, then a profound silence, then the racket of the bursting shells, coming back to us from 2,500 yards off!

The Captain's voice blended with them:
"Short! But they are bursting well
in the direction of the houses on the level
stretch. Once more, my children; we are
going to smash a German Staff!"

"A Staff! Then, my Captain-"

Archambaut had turned back. Sitting on his seat, on the left of the gun, he was looking in a strange way at his officer, as happens when we have things to say that are too much for us.

"My Captain, hammer at the right of the church, on the slope, a house with a tile roof, with a little bell tower, and white wall around the garden. Do you see it?"

"Very clearly!"

"It's the biggest in the village; it has a second story, it has four fine rooms, and there is a cellar with wine in it; they're sure to be there! Hammer it!"

"You know it pretty well?"

Archambaut answered, just audibly:

" It's mine!"

Then he turned and bent over his spirit level. I do not know what went on in the Captain's mind. The men on the other guns had not heard the last words, and did not understand. It only took a moment.

"Ten points less! Explosive shelfs, in twos, 2,700!"

Vincent Archambaut had already made the motions. He was watching the air bubble in his spirit level. When he saw it was at the mark, he pronounced, in a clear voice, as if on parade:

" Ready!"

His mate, at the right of the gun, seized the end of the firing cord, pulled it to him, let it go quickly, and the shell started.

The Style of Our Heroes

By Alfred Capus

Member of the French Academy

THE newspapers publish some of the finest letters written by our soldiers since the beginning of the war. Letters of farewell to wives, to children, to mothers, found on our heroes slain by the enemy. Impossible to condense more emotion, more human verity, nobility, in a simpler form. Ah! It is in writings like these that one seizes style at its source—style not yet arrived, of course, at the originality and perfection which great writers give it, but already ample, sincere, and strong, and containing the finest aromas of our language.

In reading over these pages, so full, so poignant, traced in a tragic hour, with death before the eyes and with a hand that does not tremble, one has the feeling of what French literature will be after the war.

It will have at its disposal, in a society compelled to reconstruct itself, materials of a magnificent reality, from which the masters of tomorrow will be able to draw new expression, movement, life, all the virile qualities of style.

Had our literature lost them! No. Rather, it disdained to use them, enticed, moreover, by the taste of the artificial, the vulgar, the raucous, which the triumph of cosmopolitanism was in course of establishing among us at so many points.

Another consequence was that the taste for satire, for vivacity, for lightness of heart, was beginning to leave our writers. Satire, in fact, requires that society should be looked at squarely, not sideways; directly, and not through fashion and conventions. And there is no genuine laughter apart from frankness and health.

Well, all these varied tones of the spirit of France—eloquence and depth, at the same time as lightness, the smile and grace—we find once more in the letters of our soldiers. It is in the furrow of their heroism that the coming litreature will grow.

Big Boy Blue

By JESSIE POPE.

[From The London Daily Mail.]

There's the blue of the sea and the blue of the sky, As well as the blue of a feminine eye, But none of these kindle a thrill so acute As the eloquent blue of a hospital suit.

It's a soul-stirring symbol of valor and pain, It tells what it's wearer would never explain. Yes—what has been done, and what's yet left to do Is silently preached by the Tommies in blue.

We see them ensconced in a smooth-running car, And good-looking, kindly faced fellows they are. Maimed, bandaged, and scarred, but enjoying their ride— The flotsam tossed up by war's merciless tide.

Though the praise at our heart is not tardy or faint, We suffer from British self-conscious restraint: Yet I know of one hand that would like to salute Each gallant Boy Blue in his hospital suit.

The Saints of France

By Maurice Barres

Member of the French Academy

Translated by Henry James

The subjoined article is quoted from "The Book of France," edited by Miss Winifred Stephens, and just published by Macmillan, because it represents the excellent literary material in a work the proceeds from the sale of which will benefit French sufferers from the war.

O you know the joy of seeing clear? It is one of the greatest that life gives us. O light that drives errors away! And, far from wasting, this joy increases by as much as we entertain it. They say that to see clear is to make on occasion for disabuse; but if it happens that our vision, settling on an object, rouses in us feelings of admiration, how great then the pleasure! The perfect thing is to love what shows in fullest light.

Let us, therefore, avoid giving ear to a lot of taradiddles about our soldiers in the trenches. It is just as they are, in the gravity of their reality, wrapped in all their severity of color, that they will rouse most completely our affection and our respect.

A new sort of war altogether unrolls at this time along the far lines of the front. Beyond doubt our soldiers inherit the souls of their forefathers; a Déroulède is a Bayard; a Joffre repeats certain features of Catinat and of Drouot; and you have only to read in our young soldiers' letters the glad, bright, dashing things said as it might be by Lasalle and the others. But none the less the actual conditions of this war are so special that our soldiers take from them a character quite new, I believe, in our history.

I suffer when I find episodes of the front wantonly distorted to drama and story. The romantic at this moment would be just in the poilu* and his trench. Well, I have been there to see! There were our soldiers stiffened out by

their many thick garments and with the dried mud that wrapped them round in a sort of carapace. It was a day of rain. Some had on their backs their empty knapsacks of coarse cloth, and others over them the shelter of sheets of corrugated iron resting on the pair of earthen sides. The struggle of their life made their eyes shine in their bewhiskered faces, and yet left in all their being a vague expression of sleep. They listened to me with the charming natural politeness of our peasants and with their good smile. They quite understood my friendliness, and I met with emotion something in them that I catch myself calling their saintship. The poilu in his trench is a peasant disguised as a warrior, thinking of his people and things at home, not in the least wanting to eat the Boche heart and liver raw, holding on with his feet frozen and his hands numb, and quite sure "we shall get them in the end."

These admirable survivors of the first hecatombs that hold out with such splendid endurance in the mud of the trenches, under the ceaseless rain of bullets and shells, have learned to practice the virtue of patience with a stoutness not quite expected of our army and that seems to advert to the peasant qualities of our race. They know or they feel that this war is a war of wearing out, such as will be at the end to the profit of whichever of the two adversaries has best hoarded and stored his powers. They know that the one who attacks recklessly and without sufficient preparation the "inviolable front" breaks himself against a murderous resistance, bristling with obstacles scarce to be overcome. have mastered this to their cost, and,

^{*}The translator has rejoiced to seek no equivalent for this image of the French soldier, unshaved, unshorn, and during the Winter months shaggy, whenever possible, with the skins of beasts.

thank God, to the coast of the German masses dashed and smashed against our defenses. They reckon that time works for the cause of the Allies. This waiting upon time has enabled us already to repair our insufficiencies of material preparation, and has given us in addition opportunity and leisure to gain over the German a huge moral superiority.

This superiority was born of the battle of the Marne, when, in a manoeuvring fight, that is to say in the conditions most opposed to fighting in the trenches, we bent their masses under the weight of our shock and our effort, possessed though they were of the advantage of number. And then we have not ceased slowly to assert and enlarge this superiority in artillery fighting and minor actions, thanks to our 105s and our high explosive shells for our 120s. The poilu knows all this; he knows it by the best learning, by his daily experience; he makes sure of it in the horizon that he embraces from his trench and by the succession of facts that compose his perilous life. Hence his catch that "we shall get them in the end."

We shall get them, above all, if our civilians hold on.

And how may we best hold on? What does the patience asked of us come to?

It is asked of us not to know impatience. It is asked of us, commercial, industrial as we are, political as we are, not to weigh upon events by tears, by plaints, by carpings. These soldiers amazing in endurance, these leaders every one of whom has made his sacrifice, have only one thing in fear, which is that the impatience of their friends and their families may press them to proceed to a premature offensive by attacks ill-prepared.

But that will do for us—we understand. We shall take pattern from your patience, a pale enough merit on our part, but on yours as shining as the purple of your spilled blood. To the end we shall remain what we have been these six months—a nation gathered up behind its General of Generals and all alive with the spirit which but yesterday broke out in a speech repeated to me by a friend. "I have been with Mme. X. and her

daughter," he writes me; "her son has just fallen on the field of honor. On the terrible news the mother said to the daughter: 'We'll say nothing about it. We'll hide our pain as much as possible, so as not to add to the sadness—there will be so many more deaths.'"

Think how fine! Even the word "sadness," by its belonging to the order of feeling and its giving thus the measure of the speaker's, is deeply moving in its spareness. Saintly women, it isn't only sadness that you instinctively wish to avoid spreading around you, but the public reason itself that you seek to protect, to forearm against the justest sensibility. You discern that if we should turn to softness our France, bodies and souls, would be flung to earth, martyred, annihilated, and the blood of our heroes have been shed for nothing. We should betray our dead. We must win. And already complete victory is to be seen at the end of our patience.

Pain becomes present in creatures so that all the moral beauty their nation is capable of shall thereby appear. This is what the Prussians are unable to learn. Envious ever of the chivalrous nation, they have wished to overthrow to earth our houses of certitude and of faith and to give us up to the anxieties of the spirit. They believe the treasure of our soul squandered in our vain disputes and our ancient serenity forever dead. But in the very instant of their uttering this cry of death, this cry of happy hatred of the old world of feeling, their insults themselves were our revulsion and the spirit of sacrifice transfigured our nation. They have piled up ruins at the heart of Rheims and of our villages of Lorraine and of the north and of the Ile de France, and, lo, the whole of France becomes a national cathedral! All Frenchmen are united, and even the contradictors of beliefs have suddenly felt themselves again sons of those who, through the long centuries, have prayed in the old houses of prayer. We take up again the feeling of our unity. All men's shoulders touch in the trenches, and all the hearts of women are together.

The heart of the women of France is not that instinct, that ingenuous state of the first hours of the world, still akin to animal innocence; it is a condition of thought that has burned itself pure, working out of the most informed civilization, the material parts of which it casts off to become all love and reason. It was formed, from generation to generation, in the deep chapels of our churches and round about the sepulchre; it draws comfort and revival today from the van of the train of the wounded, from the bed of the ambulance, and, borne by the pair of wings of patriotism and charity, it moaningly hovers over our soldiers on the field of battle. The hearts of Frenchwomen flock to the army like a flight of birds, to admire and help with their love the saviors of the land.

We have not perhaps emphatically enough noted the true character of the trench warfare in which the German army took refuge when it recrossed the Aisne under our pursuit. Such a decision confessed to a want of power, or, rather, to a state of weakening. For the trenches, you see, allow an army to hold a given front with certainty by an effective force equal but to a third of the one necessary in occupation without trenches. It takes an average of a man every two yards to hold trenches, whereas a line of battle requires an average density of three men

to two yards, (which of course doesn't mean that the men are aligned by any such simplified scheme.)

The trenches are an expedient of genius enabling the Germans to stand up to the allied Russians, English, and French from the North Sea to Switzerland and from Königsberg to the edge of Rumania. But expedients are by their essence precarious.

We shall break through the enemy's line when the victor of the Marne shall decide to. And I shall come back to this, I shall share with you a few of the ideas that are now familiar to our soldiers and that comfort their patience. I have only wished today to repeat to you what we are surely but of one mind about—the truth that any impatience would be on our part the worst of faults. It would be of such service to the Germans. It would have as a consequence to put the lives of our soldiers in peril by unwise operations and to compromise final success by attempting to gather it too fast.

This let all those of us behind say to ourselves and to each other: Any betrayal, and even any inward consent to impatience, goes straight against the purpose of the patient *poilus*, who mean to wait, and know how, that they may become masters of the hour.

"La Marseillaise"

By RAYMOND POINCARE, PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

With impressive ceremony the remains of Captain Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, composer of "La Marseillaise," were placed, on July 24 last, in the Hotel des Invalides. Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, said on that occasion:

Wherever it resounds, "La Marseillaise" evokes the idea of a sovereign nation that has a passion for independence and whose sons, all of them, prefer deliberate death to servitude. Its striking notes speak the universal language understood today throughout the world. A hymn like that was needed to interpret in a war like this the generous thought of France.

Once more the spirit of domination menaces the liberty of the people. Our laborious democracy for many long years contented itself with works of peace, and it would have considered criminal or insane any man who dared nourish warlike projects, notwithstanding repeated provocations, and, regardless of surprises at Tangier and Agadir, France remained willingly silent and impassive.

A Letter to the Young Soldier Who Receives None

By Eugene Brieux

Member of the French Academy
Translated by Pamela Glenconner

The subjoined article from "The Book of France," edited by Miss Winifred Stephens, and published by Macmillan, represents the good literary material in a work the proceeds from the sale of which will be used in behalf of French sufferers from the war.

ARE there any soldiers, I wonder, who never receive any letters? to whom no one writes because there is no one to write to them, no one who cares? Surely there must be very few. But if there should be even one in such a case my thoughts turn toward him now. May my words reach him!

How clearly I see him, this brother whom I have never seen! I see the expression deepen on his young face as the postman appears laden with letters. He looks serious, not sad, just a little awkward, perhaps, as he stands there looking on at something in which he takes no part. He knows there will be nothing for him; his impulse is to turn away when the post arrives and his comrades throng around that figure whose lot it is, in merely doing his duty, to be the dispenser of so much joy. The letters are distributed. He notices how eagerly his comrades seize each his own. He sees the letters opened and watches the faces around him. Some are reading, others listening, all are intent. All save he. What are these letters that are not for him? They are fragments of paper that bear folded within them love and good-will.

After the first few glances, rather than stand watching, the boy moves away. He knows it is no good waiting. However bulky the postman's bag there is nothing, he knows, for him. He prefers that it should not be noticed that there is never a letter for him, nothing at all for him, day after day. This is no new experience, mind you. He makes

no grievance of it; he is used to being alone. Other men have fathers and mothers. He has never belonged to any one. He is alone.

None the less, how well he fights; just as well as his comrades; and so long as he acquits himself as well as they, he acquits himself better. He does not know this, but it is true.

When his comrades fight it is to defend their homesteads, to be worthy of the past. They recall those who have gone before. They fight for the protection of their hearths.

But when he fights, this boy who has no one to write to him, what does he fight for?

He has no home, no forebears, no worldly goods.

It is the future that is in his charge. He defends those who yet shall be. He, above all, may be said to fight for an ideal. If this can be said of any one, it may pre-eminently be said of him, for he fights for compatriots who are yet unborn; he offers his life that these may never be subjected to the shame of living under the domination of savages; men who, committing unspeakable offenses against the innocent, the wounded, and the aged, gratify their insatiable cruelty yet further by maliciously ruining the noblest of man's handiwork, and dishonoring the sacred stones.

And if he is killed, this lonely boy of whom I speak, it may be no one will mourn him. But he will not die. I see him on his return radiant with victory. His comrades will return to their homes. Their steps will ring across thresholds



GENERAL PORRO
Who Arranged Italy's Joint Military Action with the Allies in the Dardanelles
(Photo from Bain News Service)



HIS HIGHNESS THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA India, Who Has Made Princely Gifts to the Cause of the Allies (Photo from Bain News Service)

that have waited for them, who shall say how longingly? They will be met with glowing kisses, kisses softened by tears. The mothers will not speak—how should they when they tremble so? and the younger brothers, how their eyes will shine! They will be half afraid, hardly know what to do or say. * * * What loving arms will be opened to these comrades! * * * Homes. * * *

But the boy who had no one to write to him, there will be no special place for him. His reception will be the acclamation of the streets.

Let me speak to him, this brother whom I have never seen. May my words reach him!

My son, you have done well. Do you hear me? I have good news for you. One whom above all others you would henor and serve, she will love you, because you have been brave.

But never think of dying; you must not die. And if you are in the thick of the fight, as you always will be if I know you, the best way to avoid being killed is to kill the enemy who faces you. You know well enough that to turn back is unworthy. Shot and shell overtake the swiftest runners.

Then let me tell him something.

Let your confidence be your strength. If life has been unjust to you there will be full compensation for you one day. Never despair, my son, hold fast to the knowledge that all will be well. Why should you care if there be no letter for you? It is great to stand alone. Your comrades each were born into his family to find established homes. It will be your most excellent pride to found your home. Others have received; you have given. Your lot is the best.

And now, once again, God bless you, my comrade, my brother whom I have never seen! May this letter reach you, written by one who has no son, to you who have no father! I clasp your hand.

Gift Sword for King Albert of Belgium

In correspondence of The Associated Press dated July 30, 1915, the following appeared:

The sword of honor to be presented by the people of Paris to King Albert has been completed by the Sculptor Fetu. It will first be submitted to General Florentin, Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honor, then to President Poincaré, often which it will be placed on view for a time at the exhibition of Belgion art

after which it will be placed on view for a time at the exhibition of Belgian art.

"No Thoroughfare," is the inscription upon the guard at the foot of the hilt in the form of a statuette in massive gold, representing a young athlete upon the defensive, brandishing a club. The statuette represents the Flemish type, a Belgian having posed for the figure. The guard is also of massive gold, bearing the arms of the City of Paris in blue and red enamel, with the cross of the Legion of Honor and the device, "Fluctuat nec mergitur," and the date 1914 in diamonds upon an oak branch in green enamel. On the other side of the guard, in golden letters upon blue enamel, is the inscription: "The People of Paris to His Majesty Albert I., King of the Belgians." The inscription on this side is surmounted by a laurel wreath set with emerals and rubies.

The blade of the sword is in steel of Saint-Etienne, ornamented with panoplies of steel upon gold, with these lines by Jean Richepin:

Droite, sans tache, sans effroi, J'ai pour ame ton ame, O Roi. (Straight, spotless, and fearless, I have for my soul thy soul, O King.)

The sheath is of fish skin, tanned by a process revived from the eighteenth century. The chape bears the arms of the thirteen Belgian provinces, on a field of flowers and vegetation of the country—flax, hops, and colza. It is surmounted by a mural crown.

The Region of Battle

By Pierre Loti

The subjoined article by Pierre Loti, (Captain Viaud,) recording his impressions of the French battle front, appeared originally in L'Illustration, and is here translated by Charles Johnston.

HERE was it that this happened? . . . One of the peculiarities of this war is that, in spite of my habit of maps, and in spite of the minute excellence of the maps I carry with me in traveling, I never know where I am. . . However, this certainly happened somewhere or other. I am sure, alas! that it happened in France, since it was quite close to and under the enemy's fire.

I had been motoring since the morning, passing through I know not how many towns, large or small. I recall this scene, in a village where I stopped, and which had surely never seen so many auto buses, so many soldiers, so many horses. They brought in fifty German prisoners, unshaven, unshorn, dirty; I will not say they looked like savages; that would be flattery, for most of the savages, the savages of the great jungle, lack neither distinction nor grace; no, they looked like camp followers, their ugliness was heavy, stupid, hopeless. A handsome young woman of doubtful character, with plumes on her head, who had posted herself to see them pass, watched them with ill-concealed disappointment. "So these are the fellows," she said, "their ugly Emperor offers us, to improve the race? . . . You don't say! . . ." And, to give more force to her unfinished phrase, she spat on the ground.

Thereafter, for an hour or two, deserted countrysides, great yellow woods, leafless forests which, under the melancholy sun, extended endlessly. It was cold, one of those bitter, penetrating chills which are hardly known in my French southwest, and which gave the impression of the lands of the far north. After a long interval, a village through which the barbarians had passed showed

us its charred ruins; but no one lived there any longer. Here and there along the road lay little burial mounds, solitary or in groups, the earth quite freshly turned, with leaves strewn on them and a cross made of two sticks; soldiers, whose names would never be known, had fallen there exhausted, to await death in solitude. . . . We hardly saw them in our rapid course, which we quickened more and more because of approaching night, already drawing in at the end of October. In measure, as the day wore on, an almost winterlike fog grew thick as a mortuary veil. A silence gloomier than elsewhere fell over all that region. from which the barbarians had been driven, but which still carried the memory of so many slaughters, furies, cries, rifle shots. . . .

In the heart of a forest, near a hamlet, of which nothing was left but charred spaces of wall, there were two of these graves side by side, near which I stopped. It was because a little girl, a child of 12, all alone there, was arranging damp bouquets of flowers, a few poor chrysanthemums from her wasted garden, and then some field flowers, late scabiosas gathered in the mournful meadows, upon the graves.

"You knew them, little one—they who are lying here?"

"Oh, no, Sir! But I know that they were Frenchmen. . . . I saw when they buried them . . . Sir, they were very young; their mustaches were not quite grown yet!"

Nothing written on the crosses which the Winter will lay low on the earth and which will soon crumble in the grass. Who are they? Sons of peasants, or townsfolk, or land owners? Who weeps for them? A mother in ample veils of elegant crêpe, or a mother in the modest mourning of a peasant woman? In any case, those who love them will end their lives without ever knowing that they are rotting there, at the side of a lonely road in the extreme north—nor that this dear child, whose home is destroyed, has come to offer them a few poor flowers on an Autumn evening, while a great cold comes down with the night out of the enveloping forest. . . . Further on, in a certain village where the commander of an army has established himself, an officer rides with me, to guide toward a determined point of the great battle front.

Yet another hour's journey at high speed through solitudes. Then we pass one of those long convoys of auto buses, formerly Parisian, which since the war have become butchers' shops on wheels. In the seats where townsfolk and their wives used to sit half oxen are swinging, all bloody, hanging from hooks. If we did not know that there were hundreds of thousands of men to feed there in the fields we should ask ourselves why all this meat was carted into the middle of this desert which we are passing through at full speed.

The day drags to a close, and we begin to hear the continuous growling of a storm, which seems to be bursting close to the ground But that thunder has been growling for weeks now; it growls uninterruptedly along the whole serpent-like line that runs from the east to the west of France and which every day, alas! gathers up its heaps of dead.

"Here we are at our destination," says the officer who is guiding me. If I did not already know the new face which the Germans have given to the line of battle I should think, in spite of the cannonade, that he was mistaken; for at first sight you see neither army nor soldiers; we are in a sinister place, on a vast plateau, where the grayish earth is peeled, slashed, with here and there trees more or less broken, as though by some cataclysm of lightning or hailstones; no trace of human beings, not even the ruins of a village; nothing to mark one or another epoch of history, or even of geology. And, as one sees in the distance, immense horizons of forest, which stretch out on all sides, to lose themselves in the almost black mists of twilight, it would be easy to think that we have gone back to the primal ages of the world.

"Here we are!"—that means that it is time to hide our auto under the trees, in order not to draw down on it a sprinkling of shells and risk having our chauffeurs killed—for there are, in the mist-veiled forest over against us, many cruel eyes on the watch, with wonderful binoculars that make their vision as piercing as that of the great birds of prey. So, to reach the firing line, we must continue on foot.

What strange soil! It is riddled with the holes made by shells that look like great funnels, and it is scratched, pierced, strewn with pointed cannon shot, copper shell cases, pieces of spiked helmets, and other barbarian refuse. But this region, which seemed deserted, is, on the contrary, densely populated!-only it is without doubt by cave dwellers, for the dwellings, scattered through the wood and invisible at first, are a kind of cavern, or molehills, half covered with branches or leaves; many years ago, at Easter Island, I had seen such architecture. . . And in this vast setting of ageless forest these human dwellings complete the impression we had already received of a return to the dark abysm of time.

In truth, it rightly belonged to the Prussians to make us go backward thus. War, which was formerly a graceful thing, where one paraded in the sun with fine uniforms and bands, they have made sly and ugly; they wage it like ground wasps. And, of course, we have had to imitate them. . . .

But heads appear here and there, coming out of the burrows, to see who has arrived, and there is nothing prehistoric about them, any more than about the military caps that cover them—faces of our soldiers, healthy looking, good humored, apparently amused at living there like rabbits. A Sergeant advances, as earthy as a mole that has not had time to make its toilet, but he has a charming expression of youth and gayety. "Take two or three men with you," I say to him, "to clear out my auto, which is

there behind the trees; you will find in it a thousand packets of cigarettes and illustrated papers which the men and women of Paris send you to help you to pass the time in the trenches." What a pity that I cannot bring back, to thank the kind donors, all the smiles of pleasure with which their presents were received!

A kilometer or two more on foot to

reach the firing line. An icy wind breathes from the forests in front of us, more and more drowned in black mists, hostile forests in which growls this seeming storm. It is mournful at dusk on this plateau of poor molehills, and I wonder that they can be so gay, our dear soldiers, in the midst of these desolate wastes.

A Changed English University

A letter to a Cambridge man in New York from another graduate of the same university, who recently returned to England, gives some details of the changes that the war has made on the aspect of the ancient courts and colleges. The writer says:

The war has left its mark on Cambridge. You will remember Whewell's Court stands apart from Trinity as a separate entity. Since last Summer it has been taken over by the Government, and they have had all sorts of soldiers quartered there. There are none now, but in one of the courts there still stands the soldiers' wash arrangements, a long zinc-lined trough, with a few taps running into it under a rough penthouse. The staircases still have the names of the undergraduates painted at their bottom, but only two or three dons are in evidence, and scrawled in chalk are such queer words as "Comp'y C," "Medical Room," or "Canteen."

In another court you may see the remains of the camp kitchens, little piles of brick, and an empty washtub. Even the porter has deserted his lodge. They are expecting a couple of hundred Canadian nurses next, but they won't do the damage the Welsh territorials did, who tore out about \$6,000 worth of gas and electric light fixtures for pure lightness of heart.

Pembroke and Peterhouse are given up to the officers' training corps. I saw them come in from drill today, four companies strong. They were marching down Trumpington Street—men of all sizes, widths, and years. Nearly all, of course, were in khaki, but a few were still in civilian rig. Tonight as I write I hear the tramp, tramp of a regiment and saw making Girtonward a corps of active men.

At Jesus some of the officers are quartered, and beside the porter's lodge stands a most wonderful collection of pickaxes and shovels. At Caius is the headquarters staff of an army.

Jesus, Clare, and the Hall are said to have suffered most from the war on account of the number of their men who have gone to the front. It's a pretty serious matter for the dons, and still more for the coaches. Men have seen a perfectly secure income cut in half or disappear altogether almost overnight. One of the Jesus dons was telling me how the man who "kept" below him and the man above him had both been killed, and how another man from the same staircase had been seriously wounded. He also warned me that when I dined in Hall tomorrow night I should get only meat and sweets, although there might possibly be soup, because that didn't cost much. When I told him Trinity was still supplying at the High Table soup, fish, roast, sweets, and cheese, he almost rose in revolt at such shameless extravagance.

The Epic of France

By G. H. Perris

The subjoined article by the author of "The Campaign of 1914 in France and Flanders" appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle.

N grim silence and watch unfaltering, along their 400 miles of earthworks, or strained to the paroxysm of some deadly thrust, the men of France withstand, as alone they could, and as they only could, the consummation of an inexpiable crime. All are there, in equal, ungrudging sacrifice, rich and poor, teacher and artisan, squire, priest, farmer, Deputy; the simple minds that think only of defending their own homes, and those no less conscious of an ideal to save and enthrone anew. One against three, in the first months when father and son leaped to the devilish challenge; one against two, through the floods and frosts of the slow Winter; and, now that the struggle is more equal, and hope has become certainty of the just end, there is no place for laughter or any levity. For every day France bleeds.

Blood enough to have sated long since any less monstrous foe. Rivers of blood, the best in Europe-the old rich Gallic blood that mingled Roman experience and Mediterranean fire with the rough peasant vigor of the North, tempered through centuries of labor and exaltation. This was the black heart of the crime of crimes, that France, the standard-bearer of Western civilization, must be crushed. For if any nation in the world can claim a primacy in the spirit of progress, is it not this? The historic guardian of ancient treasuries, no liberty has been wide enough for her need of growth, no experiment too daring, no thought refined enough to satisfy her passion for harmony and grace. To those who knew her best minds, there was ever something of worship in their love, as in our regard for the fullest type of womanhood; and now how much more when this woman has been stricken with a blow as cowardly as brutal? France suffers in chief for the feeblenesses of all Europe. Let those who have the ill-will recall now her own weaknesses.

The scale of the virtues is easily misread by academic observers, even the nearest lacking imagination and sympathy. There was a clean, neat surface over the slavish mass of German life which deceived even the elect, and deceives some yet when its inner corruption is plainly displayed. There were, not so long ago, some ugly spots-last signs, perhaps, of the wounds of 1870upon the sound body of the family life of France which caused too much alarm even to good men at home. care!" cried the younger Dumas; "you will have to pay dear; you have not yet paid all the price of earlier faults. We have enough and too much of vagrom intelligence, libertinism, and skepticism; what we want, or we shall die, is more of the deeper things-God, nature, labor, love, the family." And how Bourget, in "Le Disciple," scourged the sensual nihilism, "for which nothing is true or false, nothing moral or immoral," then eating, as he thought, like a cancer into the life of the republic. Panamism. Boulangism, a crop of scandals, seemed for a time to justify the gloomiest prognostications.

Better years have passed; and then came the sudden call to the test of battle. In the twinkling of an eye limbs and minds were girded up; in the flame of faith every gross element disappeared. We British still do not know the weight of that typhoon; and so we do not know the sublime unanimity of courage which has lived it down. Only a faint outline of the story has been told; but some day soon men from all the world over will go in pilgrimage to the heroic fields of Meaux and Sézanne and Montmirail,

to storied farms about the Aisne and Somme and Oise, into the dark defiles of the Argonne, the chalk flats of Champagne, the heights around Verdun and Nancy, the crest of Les Eparges, the woods around Apremont and Pont-à-Mousson, the foothills of the Vosges. Let none of us doubt again the virtue of chivalry; where milder virtues are forbidden this will raise men to twice their stature. The story ran: "Where are the apaches? Oh, they are in the army!" But I thought of Shakespeare's Henry at Agincourt:

Be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition;
And gentlemen in England now a-bed,
Shall think themselves accursed they were
not here,
And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any

speaks

That fought with us.

A new age is being born. These unknown names will rise starlike into the firmament of our children's dreams, for they are the places where France was saved, and, with France, Europe and more. Today we think of Joffre and Foch, Sarrail and Castelnau, d'Esperey and Langle de Cary as obscure engineers working an enormous, horrible machine by electric wires from a village schoolroom. Tomorrow they will eclipse the fame of Napoleon and his Marshals; for they will stand for the myriad indistinguishable blue-coated citizens who gave their lives for France and her ideal mission among the peoples. Tell me not of Spartan mothers; for I have seen the mothers of France plowing the fields behind the firing line, serving their wounded, holding their posts in factory and shop, everywhere with marble face fronting destiny. Tell me not of Troy or Syracuse, of the brave Horatius or Athelstane or Cuchullin or the Cid Campeador. Marathon—all the old splendors are overshadowed by the new epic of France.

History will be rewritten in a new perspective aligned by these tremendous events. The Revolution and the subsequent wars will at length fall into a true proportion in the record of the modern world; and in the mind of France herself the delirium of the Terror, that horrid ghost, will be forgotten. There are no frenzies of meliorism, as there are no carmagnoles of murderous ambition, no Danton or Robespierre, and therefore no La Vendée, and no Bonaparte, in the story of the defense of the Third Republic. It is the supreme trial of slow-growing law. To doubt of the issue, when it is so clear and unescapable, were to doubt every worthy faculty in man. France sets us an eternal example of faith; and the greatest crown of the inevitable victory will be hers.

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite; To forgive wrong darker than death or night:

To defy Power, which seems omnipotent; To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates From its own wreck the thing it contemplates.

This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.

And this is France.

A Repentant German Poet

The Amsterdam correspondent of The London Daily Chronicle cabled on Aug. 14, 1915:

Even Ernst Lissauer appears to be becoming ashamed of his "Song of Hate." He writes to the Berlin Tageblatt saying he agrees with its view that the song is not intended for the young, and he has often advised against its publication in school books. The "Song of Hate," he writes, was written as a result of a passionate impulse in the first week of war, when the impression created by England's declaration of war was fresh.

The song, he writes, is a political poem directed, not against the individual Englishman, but collectively against the English will to destruction which threatens Germany. In the excitement of those days my feelings were deeply stirred by this. Whether these feelings can continue with the cool con-

sideration of practical politics is another question.

Romantic German War Ideas

By Ernst Troeltsch

Ernst Troeltsch is Professor of Systematic Theology and Director of the Systematic Division of the Scientific Theological Seminary of the Heidelberg Academy of Science and of the Faculty of the University of Berlin. This article appeared originally in the Frankfurter Zeitung.

ITH the continuation of the war and the increasing successful self-assertion of the Germans, there grew among us also the need of an idea of our war. Clearer than in any other words is this shown in the following sentences from a letter from the field of last January:

"There are not merely moments, but often hours and days, in which one no longer knows why one is out here. One sees nothing but his immediate surroundings and hears nothing of all that which is transpiring in the world around. One stands solitary on his post and slowly grows intellectually dull. Then all sorts of thoughts storm in upon the soul: 'Why, indeed, this whole war? Is it not almost madness to murder each other? Why should just I have to give up my life? Couldn't we simply make an end of this mad war by mutual agreement? Has this entire conflict, indeed, any sense whatever?' Thus one dangerous thought pursues another."

We in the homeland have not fared very differently. We had need of nourishment for the soul in the shape of an idea of the sense and purpose of the war.

The nearest at hand were religious ideas, as, indeed, they are expressed by the writer of that letter; trial, cleansing, simplification, introspection, renascence of the Germany which is to rise purified from this war, and must, unless it wishes to suffer a dangerous degeneration. A whole literature has stamped these ideas in ever-new versions and forms. Fiery enthusiasts like Johannes Müller and contemplative ones like Paul Eberhardt have given effective expression to them. Beside the Kant-Fichte categorical imperative there flared up in revival the whole religious romanticism in modern form.

Beside these moved the German im-

perialists, to whom belong the majority of the German historians, a large number of national economists, the industrial magnates, and many writing of-They saw all their hitherto ficers. teachings confirmed, and celebrated the great moment of the final breaking through of the Germans to the world race, (Weltvolk.) Races and States must grow or go under. The goal of every great and noble people, to become a world power, seemed to have approached very near; it is the sense of the immeasurable sacrifices and sufferings. To be sure, in this teaching there plays no religious tone; Christianity is not denied, but it is warned against every humanitarian and sentimental misunderstanding, a trait which has been exaggerated by our opponents into unmeasured caricatures, and which even among ourselves keeps wide masses aloof from this teaching. Nevertheless. even this teaching is idealistic and romantic enough. For, with Rohrbach, it regards the German world rule as the rule of the German spirit, German culture; it loves to refer to Schiller's "Tag des Deutschen," (" Day of the German,") and desires with sword and technical skill to create a clear path for an empire of the soul and of the spirit.

Contrasting views are put forth by the democratic idealism, as Rudolf Goldscheid portrays it to us in the warm-hearted writing entitled "Germany's Greatest Danger." The primary and inherent German idea of liberty must dissolve that alliance of politics and power between the everthreatening Russian reaction and the misled Western pseudo-democracies, must come to an understanding with the latter, in spite of all present-day conflicts of opinion, as to the connec-

tion between internal political freedom and external political order of peace, and must create a European-American community against the dangers of the In this ideal there meet democrats, socialists, pacifists. In spite of historical-evolutionist Darwinian, and sociological foundations, that, too, is certainly a genuine and very idealistic dream, a wonderland beyond the fearful chaotic prose in which we live and fight, especially beyond the unscrupulous imperialistic self-interest of the English policy, which must not be confused with its mask of democratic freedom.

Still others hope for a new reconstruction of Europe, emanating from the centre, a Continental alliance against Russia and England, of preponderating Germanic germ and with German culture. This is to be an insurance of Germany, and at the same time a rejuvenation of Europe, concluded economically, politically, and intellectually, a successor of the mediaeval empire, a new assembling of its horizon and its forces. In this camp are found the race philosophers, the Continental political economists, the friends of economic self-government, the advocates of an Oriental policy, the Grossdeutschen, (Greater Germanists,) the romantic Catholics, and the friends of the Middle Ages.

Related to these "imperials" is Alfons Paquet, the able geographer and world traveler, the delicate-spirited poet beloved by many, the meditative observer of human affairs in the chamber of the great world conflicts and of their basic cultural causes. In a small volume which he calls "The Kaiser Idea," (published in Frankfort by Rütten and Löning,) he has developed his idea of the war, a mixture of world-geographical realism, German imperialism, and religious yearning for love and purity in the relations of men as well as of races.

Germany has gotten into an uneven relationship toward the hitherto great powers, which "this war must dissolve through the shattering or the advancement of Germany with a new, a different look in the face of the world." It must step, as a representative or mediator of Europe, at the head of a European league of States beside the powers of the future, America and East Asia, and must seek intellectual community and agreement with both. That must be the work of a great prince, who, standing above the races, is not bound down by their prejudices and mass instincts and nevertheless understands their deepest yearnings. Such an Emperor, recalling Charles the Great, Otto III., Henry VI., Frederick II., Charles V., must be born to us out of storm and stress of the time, together with the complete radically rejuvenated and united Germany. European empire is a timeless idea, which will dissolve the era of narrow nationalism and must dissolve it, and which by a general law has its parallel in America's coalescence, and in the empire of China and Japan, as once in the Roman Empire. The imperium must rise again out of the present conflict of races, and it is the destiny of the Germans to prepare the way for it through this great war. The new European Emperor will in a near or remote future be a German Emperor.

The decentralization hitherto of imperialism was caused by the monopolization of the imperial idea by the Papacy. The new empire must be exclusively temporal and must be clear of all conflicts between Church and State. But it is just this worldly imperium which then will the more need its religious complement, even as monarchism always fitly expressed and still expresses the imperium. Thus the idea of the European empire becomes associated with the idea of the European religion. It will, irrespective of monism and energetics, be a strong mystic theism and thereby closely connected with the historic religion of Europe, Christianity. Yes, it must not even dissolve connection with the historic churches, but must value these as its most important and popular organizers. A free and mutually moderating association side by side of various confessions and a complete inner religion of the spiritually free must bring about a spiritual syncretism, the expression of the European religion as the idea of an active living redemption to the Empire of

God. Therein the European religion will encounter related developments of other religious realms, and will be able to reach a settlement with them in a world community. Just as the empire has its appointed bearer in the Germans, so, too, will German Christianity, manifold and worked out in all forms and nevertheless ever developed toward spiritual freedom, and perhaps assisted by a neoidealistic Judaism serving as intermediary between Orient and Occident, have to form the point of departure of this European religion. That, then, is no imperialism of might and self-interest, but rather an imperialism of the spirit and the idea.

These visions of the future naturally lead the prophet at last to the question of the Christian mission which gained a powerful impetus in the nineteenth century and which has made use of new methods of communication almost more quickly than commerce. It is of highest importance for the future of the world. To be sure, in the Near Orient the religion of Islam there prevalent, and itself missionary from that region as a centre, must not be disturbed by attempts at conversion. There the custodians of the future and of mediation are the Christian churches which have been there for a long time and which frequently serve political purposes. They must receive a new inner life and must draw nearer to one another, must especially learn more of German theology, and by that very fact evoke countereffects from Islam itself, through which Islam will again become a cultural power as once before.

Catholic, Protestant, free-religious forces must create the religious universalism of the future and find the contact with the noble old wisdom of the East. Germany, as the motherland of the religious movements of modern times, as the homeland of the religious-idealistic philosophy and of a philosophic theology, will be called upon above all to participate in this. A German empire as the head of the European league, and the religious universalism emanating from Europe, will then give the world a new order, a relationship compared to which the present relations are merely the chaos with all the joys and pains of procreation. Everywhere is growing "the effort to clear the chaos that has developed out of common general increase in population and the rise of elements devoid of traditions out of this chaos." Our war is the beginning of this clarification, and back of it stands the idea of the European empire and of the religious Empire of God through which Europe is to find a new relationship to America and Asia.

Remarkable imaginations! Much that is profoundly thought out and much that is dilettante, much that is possible and much that is improbable, much that is keen sight and much poetry! Truly, the Germans are still today the race of the poets and thinkers. One of the few keen-sighted English opponents has brought that out carefully, too-one should not permit one's self to be deceived by all militarism and all technical skill, he says, the Germans are incurably poets and thinkers. To be sure, he added, that is precisely their weak point, in that they are unable to see the incongruity between their miserable Continental basis and their dreams; thus, he said, they plunge into misfortune through their dreaming.

Nevertheless, we must not delude ourselves by failing to realize that such romancing is in fact not altogether without danger, and that it needs continual supplementing through the sobriety of fact. The soaring sweep of such great ideas carries one lightly over the obscurity and difficulty of the actual situation and thereby clears away from the immediate duties and problems growing out of that situation. The internal rejuvenation has its very definite and concrete meaning which must be formulated; greater equalization in the German body politic, greater freedom of the people and more responsibility in the State mind, (mehr verantwortliche Staatsgesinnung.) external constitution of the future is confronted by very practical problems; the greatest possible safeguarding of the empire, resumption of a definite political attitude toward England, safeguarding of the way to the Orient, restriction of the English tyranny on the sea, all of them very concrete and difficult problems which demand the most objective seriousness and the most exact figuring out of the possible. In these sober, practical things is included, in the first place, certainly, the idea of the war; and, in so far as we need internal motive powers, there suffices in every way the moral sense of duty to the fatherland and the confidence in the power of truth and of

the good. Of the last named forces we cannot have enough, and the severe analysis of the external and internal political situation cannot possible be deliberated upon too earnestly.

But of dreams and theories there may easily be too many, even if they are as intellectual and well informed as this apocalypse of the noble poet and geographer.

A Song of the Lusitania

The Amsterdam Telegraaf publishes a German song about the Lusitania, sent by a correspondent to whom it was given in a German variety theatre. The song, it is stated, is very well known in Germany, and is sung by the public in variety theatres and cafés.

In the translation of The London Times published below an attempt is made to reproduce the peculiar quality of German humor which distinguishes the original doggerel:

The Destruction of the Lusitania

A Marching Song. (Tune: Upidee, Upida.)
By RUDOLF KUHN.

I.
Carrying shameful contraband,
From New York to the English land,
Bearing thousands, on she came:
But the U-boat sniffed its game.

II.
Sailed the Lusitania gay
Further on her felon way;
Off Ireland's coast the U-boat peers,
See the course her quarry steers!

Passengers from every shore— English, Greek, and Dutch galore, Americans and sons of France Sail along to death's fell dance.

Ah! The U-boat's aim was good; Who doesn't choke, drowns in the flood. Vanderbilt was there that day, The only one we missed was Grey.

Each one gives his nose a wrench At the gases' awful stench. "They're our shells, our very own," Cries the Yankee Mr. Kohn.

VI.
The old water-nymphs below
Straight begin to curse and blow;
"What chuck ye then so carelessly
On the bottom of the sea?"

There lay the dead in Neptune's jaws, Most of them with scalded paws—Sons of England with their wives; Ne'er so still in all their lives!

VIII.
Chant we now the funeral chant,
More U-boats is what we want.
To a chill grave with the enemy!
Till he stop bothering Germany.

The Freedom of the Seas

By Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz

Pro-Rector and Professor of Political Economy in the University of Freiburg.

Dr. Gaevernitz, who is also a member of the Reichstag, traces in the following article what he conceives to be the interest of Germany and the United States in overthrowing Britain's supremacy of the seas. The article is part of an essay which Dr. Gaevernitz handed to the Berlin correspondent of The New York Evening Mail in response to the question: "What do the educated Germans really believe about England?"

HE "freedom of the seas," which has been formally incorporated in the law of the nations, is valid for England only if it is based upon a tacit acceptance of British naval supremacy. Even Manchester men and laissez-faire politicians have helped to build up the British Navy. Mr. Stead, the pacifist, had been agitating in Germany in the cause of peace. When he returned to England from his peace propaganda in Germany he advocated the construction of two British men-of-war for each German keel.

This apostle of universal peace was, at the same time, an apostle of British naval supremacy. To the same end England blocked the development of the right of private property on the sea, and upheld the right to capture, in order to kill the trade of her enemies. In this direction she has gone still further in the present conflict by extending the scope of the meaning of contraband to an extent which has paralyzed the commerce even of neutrals.

In the London Declaration of 1909 the rules of international martime law as established by custom were formulated. Under that declaration ore, raw cotton, agricultural and mining machinery were included in the "free list," that is, among the articles which, under all circumstances, could be dealt in freely with neutral countries. Grain is defined as " relative contraband," which is not subject to seizure if it is discharged at neutral ports and then conveyed to the enemy's territory. At present, however, England is seizing both conditional contraband and non-contraband as she pleases. British inspectors supervise

Dutch trade in Holland. England forbids neutral countres to export to Germany under the threat of cutting off all supplies.

On account of the growing interdependence of nations British naval dominion now weighs on mankind far more heavily than a hundred years ago. In 1880 only the coast lines of oversea continents were opened up. Islands like the West Indies were the basis of the then existing colonial system. Oversea trade was made up of the more valuable articles of luxury, such as tobacco, coffee, sugar, and spices, which could be dispensed with. In case of need every European country could become a self-sustained State without serious inconvenience.

Since then the oversea countries have been thoroughly settled and opened up. A division of functions has taken place among the nations, and their economic life has become thoroughly interwoven by the vast increase in the volume of international trade.

The commerce of the world now consists, not of the luxuries for the rich, but of the necessities of life for the masses. Today the weal and woe of every nation, as of every individual, depends to a large extent on the international trade, which is mostly ocean-borne. Hence mankind has been delivered to the good-will or ill-will of Great Britain, the mistress of the seas.

By cutting off oversea communications, including the cables, Britain can bring the delicate machinery of the world's industry to a complete stop. By closing the seaways to industrial Europe England condemns the million-headed armies of workmen to unemployment and

cracks her whip of hunger in the huts of the poor.

European agriculture is also dependent upon exportation of farming products and the importation of necessary supplies. By cutting cottonseed meal and fodder, England stops the supply of milk in cities and treads upon the bodies of infants.

In oversea countries which export raw material the producer is on principle the credit taker, and in the end pays off his interest with goods. An epidemic of bankruptcies threatens these new countries. The storm of a commercial crisis sweeps over South America and the economic existence of thousands of debtors and creditors alike has been ruined. The exportation of goods, the investment of new capital stops when British political interest demands that the world's industrial machinery be stopped, and yet British political interests have nothing in common with South America.

The British sea blockade of 1914 shook the industrial structure of the United States "hardly less than if the States themselves had been participants in the war." Evidence of this is the closing of the Stock Exchange, the decrease of the exportation of goods, and the levy of "war taxes."

Last of all, all real coast countries whose cities and economic centres lie within range of the British guns are unconditional vassals of the ruling sea power. If the Briton bids them, the Portuguese must risk their lives for a matter that does not concern them at all. Even Italy is unable to take part in any political combination which is not acceptable to England.

Today, in a much larger measure than in the age of Napoleon, the "freedom of the seas" must be the political goal of all non-Britons.

But only two States are independent enough to profess openly that they want to reach that goal of humanity. They alone possess the economic means to oppose the Briton as equals on the sea. These countries are the United States and Germany.

The United States has definitely outstripped the British mother country because of the enormous natural resources and vast geographical extent, a gigantic production of raw materials, and the population twice that of England. Today the United States is the world's largest producer of gold and silver, mineral oil, cotton, steel, and coal. Possessed of the most efficient industrial machinery, it could, if it wished, easily match or surpass British sea power. But the sentiment of the United States is against "militarism" and "navalism." The United States is a colonial country abounding in strong individuals, but with a decentralized Government.

Flattered and deftly lulled to sleep by British influence, public opinion in the United States will not wake up until the "yellow New England" of the Orient, nurtured and deflected from Australia by England herself, knocks at the gates of the New World. Not a patient and meek China but a warlike and conquest-bound Japan will be the aggressor when that day comes. Then America will be forced to fight under unfavorable conditions. In the meantime, England's suicidal policy has sacrificed the foremost advance-post of the white race and culture, German Tsing-tao.

Hereby Britain has laid the north of China open to attack, while Japan, with a cold logic, has assailed Germany, the strongest white power in the Orient, has encircled the Philippines, reaches out for island bases and sea control of the Pacific, and bids fair to emerge from the war as the only sure "winner."

Thus the work of the liberation of mankind is left to Germany, and to Germany alone. On Nov. 11, 1870, Carlyle wrote to The London Times: "Patient, pious, and plodding Germany has coalesced into a nation, and has taken over the hegemony of the European Continent. That seems to me the most hopeful international fact which has happened in my lifetime."

Germany, the late-comer! While the Briton was conquering the world, Germany has been pushed out since the Thirty Years' war to the outer line of the world's affairs. The customary ballast of ships that were returning from Ger-

many was sand—the "produce of Germany," ("le produit de l'Allemagne,") as the French sarcastically put it.

The Hansa merchants were like so many roosters that picked a few grains in the stable of a noble steed and were kicked out when they became a nuisance. But in that quiescent life old Germany gathered a new youth-that mysterious strength which Carlyle foreshadows in depicting Frederick William I. and his surroundings. Then, toward the end of the eighteenth century, under the protection of Prussian neutrality in the revolutionary wars, that classical age arose when Germany was crowned with the wreath of intellectual achievement. Kant is the mighty figure that marks the How much philosophical boundary. thought is pre-Kantean even today and even with us. Oswald in Germany and English "pragmatism" are cases in point.

As long as the Germans were content to live in the clouds the Briton ceded to them the legion of intellectual empire, "the cuckoo house" and fools' paradise of philosophic speculation. He feared neither Fichte's virile "Talks to the German Nation," nor Hegel's world-embracing system of thought. But wrongly so, because that culture which seemed so remote from the world was in reality intently practical. The German culture was a new spring of inexhaustible strength which was to inspire the German idealist to a reshaping of the visible world.

With the alliance between historic Prussia and the "ideal nation"—"the German Nation"—as Fichte had visualized it—a great power arose in Europe on a thorough national foundation. This new German Empire, in the opinion of Bismarck, its founder, appeared to be "satiated in Europe," so lacking in tendencies of expansion that Great Britain ceded to it the rock island of Heligoland in 1892 without a shadow of misgiving. But the finger of economic necessities—a yearly increase of 800,000 in population on a small area—pointed beyond Europe.

By the merger of the historic Prussian customs union, principally with the West

German ideas of Fr. List, Germany raised herself to the position of an economic world power, which by the restriction imposed upon a smaller Germany prepared the way for a greater Germany. List's final goal was also a political one; wealth was but the means, the end was the liberation of humanity from the mountain of British pressure. To this end List accepted Napoleon's Continental system as well as "Fichte's national idea."

"But do you," he appealed to his countrymen, "who are struggling to prevent the restoration of Gallic supremacy, find it more endurable and honorable to yield your rivers and harbors, your shores and your seas, to the sway of the British from now on?"

Step by step Germany caught up with the British model economic state, and overtook Britain first in iron and steel production, and then in chemical and electrical industries. Germany now became the seat of modern high finance; her aggregations of capital, accompanied by an even distribution of national wealth, outgrew all British proportions and began to approach American dimensions; with this difference, that the German system is more systematic and more closely co-ordinated with the State than the somewhat accidental, and still half colonial, capitalism of the United States.

Just as Karl Marx once studied in England, foreigners now come to Germany to study the latest tendencies of modern economic development. The Briton's philosophy of competition impresses them as small in its scope and antiquated in its method.

A fabulous transformation! About the middle of the nineteenth century Disraeli in his "Endymion" depicted the pitiful plight of the German diplomat, who, in leaving the metropolis of the world, (London,) exiles himself from the circle of brilliant women and world ruling statesmen, to return to banishment in his native land.

Germany, in the view of Disraeli, is the product of peace conferences and protocols. It plays at being a great power. Its people are poor in everything but forests. And today? Germany, like King Midas, touches raw materials of seemingly insignificant value and turns them into ingots of gold.

It would have seemed like madness to our forefathers if any one had prophesied that Germany would tower to Great Britain's heights as an industrial State. And yet our entire military and economic power of resistance is based upon this fundamental fact.

To this new German industry, which exports goods instead of men, we are particularly indebted for the millions in our army. In comparison with the onesided export industrialism of England, the new German economic system rests firmly upon a proportionately broader agricultural basis than that of England. Great Britain's small and still dwindling agricultural population of 5,000,000 contrasts strikingly with Germany's farming population of 18,000,000, which could be increased still further by a policy of settlement and internal colonization, and in addition to the brawny farmers the millions of men who have been trained to industrial occupations, such as metal workers and machinists, furnish the very best material for the army and the navy.

Of the many industrial establishments of the empire, one concern alone, the A. E. G. Electrical Company, sent 14,000 men into the field in the present war. No less than 800,000 members of trade unions are serving with the colors. What power of solidarity and strength of discipline are represented by these intelligent workers!

The new German activity impinged with painful effect upon some of the old and firmly established British industries. Witness the single example of coal-tar dyes, which completely superseded the British dyestuff industry, especially indigo, which Great Britain previously produced from vegetable sources in India for the supply of the entire world. All this became the more

acutely felt when German economic life, turning like that of England toward the seas, reached out mightily for the oceans of the world.

Our Kaiser's word that Germany's future lies on the sea is more than true; for our present is on the water. In all zones German wares, ships, banks, and enterprises of all sorts came into contact with those of England. But, more important still, the challenge to British industrial dominion seemed to bring into question also the political supremacy of Britain.

Battleships are machines, the most expensive of all machines, and a nation can support them independently of any long coastline in the degree in which it succeeds in bringing the capitalistic centre of the world to its own territory. The Englishman began to fear that in peaceable industrial development the sceptre of sea dominion would slip from his hands through the shifting of the balance of economic power.

From this source came the ominous clouds which darkened our political sky for so many years. The question was forced upon us, Would not the Briton attempt at the eleventh hour to destroy by political means the rival who had outstripped him in the economic race? Didn't all the traditions of British history point to such a probability? Would Great Britain's supremacy, built up by war, be maintained by any other means than war?

Influential writers, and Mr. Garvin with especial brilliance, made it their life's work to impress upon their countrymen this doctrine: "What the Spain of Philip II., the France of Louis XIV. and Napoleon once were to England, Germany is today—the enemy. Tomorrow an invincible Germany will cast its shadow over Europe. Today we must see to it that the lesser Germany is crushed. If Germany were annihilated today every Englishman would be richer tomorrow."

The Monroe Doctrine as Germans See It

By Herbert Kraus

Herbert Kraus is an eminent German scholar whose book, "Die Monroedoktrin," is the German authority on the political relations of the Americas. During the war Dr. Kraus has been occupied as Zivilkommissar of Hasselt, Belgium. This article is part of a paper written at the request of The Atlantic Monthly, translated from Professor Kraus's manuscript by John Heard, Jr., and published by The Atlantic Monthly in August, 1915. It is here reproduced by permission.

NE may unhesitatingly state that the Monroe Doctrine, at this moment, is passing through a stage of acute transition and evolution. I. The Monroe Doctrine in the immediate present is engrossed by the idea of absorbing, controlling, and commercially restricting non-American States. The inception of this theory dates back to the Administration of President Grant. The episode of Magdalena Bay, when Japan for the first time came in contact with the Monroe Doctrine, demonstrated the fact that, under certain conditions, this doctrine could be made to apply to, and to restrict, private business relations with America. The well-known Lodge resolution clearly formulated this theory; and under President Wilson's Administration it has been widely extended. Judging from first appearances, President Wilson, in his departure from the Taft-Knox dollar-diplomacy, which incorporated this standard, was disposed to oppose the natural development of the Monroe Doctrine. In his speech delivered in Mobile on Oct. 28, 1913, and in his first annual message, in which he spoke of his oil-concession policy, he has proved the contrary. President Wilson contended that the grant of oil concessions to foreign promoters, through the agency of the weaker American States, was a menace to the Monroe Doctrine and upheld a principle antagonistic thereto. He thereby added weight and scope to various still questionable conceptions dealing with restrictions of foreign trade in America.

It becomes self-evident, without further discussion, that the "Wilson Doctrine"

contains the power and the initiative to restrict without discrimination all trade between foreign nations and America. Basing her arguments on the same assumption of right-namely, the Monroe Doctrine—by which she opposes and denies the grants of oil concessions, through Mexico, Colombia, Nicaragua, or Ecuador. the United States can raise the same objections to beneficial contracts entered into between Americans and citizens of foreign countries. She can-to use another example-veto any or all Asiatic or European immigration into Central or South America. And here we are brought face to face with another contingencythe only one, indeed, which might eventually cause the Monroe Doctrine to militate against German interests. Germany has never yet made a serious attempt to establish colonies in America. The agitation of 1870, when it was claimed that she intended to acquire Porto Rico from Spain, was newspaper talk pure and simple; and the representations against such action which Mr. Cushing made in Madrid at that time were as unnecessary as they were groundless. Sticklers might call attention to the only other exception: in the year 1901 Germany made overtures for the purchase from Venezuela of the island of Marguerita in market-overt -if the term is applicable-but abandoned the plan immediately upon the expressed opposition of the United States. On closer examination it will be found that this was hardly a colonization project. It was an enterprise actuated solely by the desire not to see a naval supremacy established without, to a moderate degree, following in the course arbitrarily imposed upon us. By her policy of naval supremacy, England continued to establish a cordon of naval bases around the whole world.* The heroic fate of the German cruisers on the high seas in the present war has demonstrated to every unprejudiced observer the justice of Germany's attempt.

In view of what has been said, the expectation should by no means be expressed that the commercial element of the Monroe Doctrine will cause friction between the United States and Germany. Such a contingency can arise only in the course of relations with England, whose every transaction has been actuated by underlying motives, and who, up to the present, has always made use of her political supremacy to advance her commercial influence.

Just so long as this undertone is absent—and it is entirely foreign to the relations between Germany and the United States—it would clearly contravene the principles of the United States to impose restrictions upon, or to seek to control, international commerce. This is especially true since she prides herself on being the parent and protector of the "Policy of the Open Door," even though, at this moment, she boasts but a precarious title to this honorable pretension.

II. Looked at under still another aspect, it must be admitted that the Monroe Doctrine is at present passing through a stage of transition and is undergoing a fundamental change. It is struggling to establish the United States as "international policeman of America." It is under this heading that the question arises whether, as a supplement to the other pretensions embodied in the Monroe Doctrine, the United States is bound to supervise, assist, and guarantee the good behavior of the other American republics in their relations with the other powers.

This conception of the scope of the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated for the first time—carefully, to be sure, yet quite distinctly—by Theodore Roosevelt. His message to the United States Senate on Feb. 15, 1905, afforded him the opportunity; in it he urged the acceptance of the contract already drawn up between the United States and the Dominican Republic, dealing with the Government debts of the latter State.

Since that time this idea has continued to influence and agitate American thought, although its fusion with the Monroe Doctrine has not yet taken place: there still exists some opposition; its justification and amalgamation with the Monroe Doctrine are still matters of debate, and the American Government has by no means adopted it. The attitude of that country toward the Mexican complications is proof positive; for in this respect she has shown more patience than she ever has, or ever would, in dealing with any of her powerful European neighbors, should they find themselves in the throes of acute anarchy.

The question naturally obtrudes itself, whether this idea will ever become incorporated in the Monroe Doctrine; and at the present time this question remains unanswered. To accomplish such a purpose, it will first be necessary for the Monroe Doctrine to emerge victorious from the conflict against the Pan-American agitation in which it is now engaged.

It is not in the opposition of Europe, it is not in the antagonism at present existing in the other American States, that the perpetuation of the Monroe Doctrine finds its most serious menace. It is rather in this Pan-American movement that the greatest danger lurks.

Fundamentally, the Monroe Doctrine and the idea of Pan-Americanism are based on diametrically opposed conceptions. On its own statement, the object of the Monroe Doctrine is to be a doctrine primarily for the benefit of the United States and incidentally for the protection of the weaker by the stronger States. It is a theory depending on a status of superiority and inferiority as a condition precedent. Opposed to this is the uncompromising hypothesis of the brotherly equality of the American republics

^{*}It seems appropriate here to point out that the following islands, and groups of islands, are at the present moment in English possession: The Bay Islands, Galapagos Islands, Falkland Islands, Corn Islands, Tortuga, Trinidad, and Tiger Island.—The Author.

on which the Pan-American contention rests.

One can readily grasp that through the historical evolution of time Monroe's Monroe Doctrine has been metamorphosed from a doctrine for the protection of the United States only to one embracing the welfare of the whole of Today, unfortunately, the America. theory of brotherly equality is untenable when the pretension of an existing duty on the part of the United States to supervise the affairs of the other American republics oversteps the Monroe Doctrine proper. Such a pretension effectively abolishes the theory of equality between supervisor and supervised.

The outcome of this conflict between the Monroe Doctrine and Pan-Americanism cannot now be predicted. It is possible that the Monroe Doctrine will succumb to Pan-Americanism. It is possible that this newer agitation will continue to exist for some time, as it does today, hampered by the natural sterility of its conception, and will eventually die a slow and natural death. It is possible, and in fact probable, that the result will be a middle course by which the Monroe Doctrine will develop into a doctrine common to a number of the larger American States-one acceptable to the United States and to the A B C States-and will incorporate in itself the idea of guardianship over the smaller American republics. This could mean but one thingthe establishment of a concert of States. Such a concert, in the face of the total failure of a similar experiment in Europe, would arrogate to itself a supremacy over the lesser American States.

It is possible also that the ultimate result will be a modification of this arrangement, and that the United States will follow the old interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in its bearing on Central America, including Venezuela and the West Indies, and will make that region a sphere of her special political influence. It is noteworthy that so far it is especially these States that have come under the protection of the Monroe Doctrine, which has, in fact, been but rarely applied to the other American nations. This is at most but a political pipe dream.

III. There is, however, a third question which is thrown into sharp relief by the interest of the immediate present -will the Monroe Doctrine ever be recognized by the other world powers? Repeatedly it has been pointed out that this has already been answered, especially by the attitude of the members of the two Hague Conventions toward the stipulations made by representatives of the United States. Actually no recognition of the Monroe Doctrine is to be deduced from this attitude, in the sense in which alone it would have any material value, namely, as implying that in the future the United States shall have the authority to enforce the pretensions of the Monroe Doctrine under all contingencies, even, if necessary, by the use of force. The silence of the members of The Hague Conventions as to the exposition of the demands of the United States Government should be interpreted as nothing more than giving a hearing to a declaration which the other participants in the convention did not care to discuss.

Had some of the nations whose interests were imperiled during the recent Mexican disturbances intrusted those interests to the United States-as, in fact, has been reported, more especially from England, in connection with which rumor one must bear in mind the Benton episode-such action would add weight and importance to the above assertion. Or had England, in the course of the present war, requested the United States to take steps against Venezuela and Ecuador for alleged breaches of neutrality tending to assist Germany, it would be exceedingly difficult not to interpret such a request as a complete recognition by England of the Monroe Doctrine.

Whether an implicite acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine by any or all of the world powers will ever be brought about depends entirely on the attitude of the United States toward the present war. Confidence and might must be co-existent, since together they form a sine qua non. The world must be convinced that it can safely rely upon the attitude of the United States in regard to international relations.

I will express no opinion as to whether the countenancing by the American Government of the exportation of war munitions should, or should not, be deemed a breach of neutrality. It is none the less as contrary to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine as the present tone of the American press. All of this will make itself felt in the subsequent relations between the United States and Germany, and it will doubtless play a part unfavorable to the Union in the general accounting, when her attitude toward Germany's opponents is considered. Partiality in international crises has always brought its own reward.

Still more significant, when viewed in this light, is the passive position assumed by the United States in regard to the attack made by Japan (her natural enemy) upon defenseless China, in spite of her decisive and frequently enunciated policy of the "Open Door" in the Far East. Most important of all is her inaction in the face of Japan's latest efforts to gain a foothold on the Mexican coast.

How can the United States expect that in the future the world will place any weight upon her assurances, when in the critical hour she is not willing to bear the results of her policy; to insist upon her rights, or to perform the duties which she has undertaken? With this depreciation of the prestige of the United States. the chances of a general and international recognition of the Monroe Doctrine are necessarily lessened.

Side by side with this moral factor, a second stands in natural sequence-that of power. So far in this war the United States has stood aloof, posing as a disinterested spectator, wrapped in a garment of power. This is particularly true of her behavior in connection with Japan's attitude toward Mexico and

How can the United States expect that in future the world will respect, fear, or even heed her protests and demands, when she has demonstrated that she is not prepared to act when the gravest international interests are at stake?

The destinies even of the United States may be affected by this war. Let us hope that she may find what, just now, every nation of the world needs more than anything else-wise and far-sighted statesmen.

Russian Amazons

The Vilna correspondent of the Outro Rossii of Moscow gives the latest list of Russian women soldiers awarded the St. George's Cross of the Fourth Degree for conspicuous gallantry at the front. No official statistics as to the number of women volunteers in the Russian Army are available, but, according to the frequent newspaper reports recounting only cases of exceptional bravery, their number seems to be considerable. They represent all classes of the Russian community, and invariably assume male names and attire.

Thus, Maria Selivanova, aged 17, wore the uniform of a pupil of a Tula Gymnasia (high school) for girls as recently as December last, when she ran away and joined the army at the front under the assumed name of Stepan. She

owes her distinction to carrying the wounded from front trenches. Ekaterina Linevska, aged 23, was working at a Vologda cotton mill until January last, when she donned a soldier's greatcoat and cap, and under the name of Ivan Solovieff attached herself as a volunteer to a rifle regiment. She received her St. George's Cross for a daring reconnoissance of enemy advance posts, during which she was severely wounded.

Nina Rumiantseva, aged only 16, distinguished herself by saving an officer's

life under conditions of extreme danger.

Another woman warrior, who had so sunk her femininity as to be known only by her male name of Matvey Koloboff, is a real veteran. She entered the army immediately on the declaration of war, and recently crowned a long chapter of daring adventures by capturing single-handed two Austrian scouts.

Germany's Peace Terms

Manifesto of the German Professors

A remarkable program adopted by a number of German professors and other intellectuals, at a meeting held on June 20, in the Berlin Künstlerhaus, for the purpose of its being presented in petition form to the German Imperial Chancellor, was published in Berne, Switzerland, on Aug. 10. It is called by the Berne correspondent of The London Morning Post "but one more link in the now long chain of German pro-annexation and pro-aggrandizement demonstrations, beginning with a speech of the King of Bavaria, and followed by a speech by the President of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, by demonstrations of the National Liberal and Conservative Parties in the Reichstag, and also by a petition of the six leading German commercial associations, including the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and the Farmers' Association." The document is printed off in characters to resemble manuscript. Among the signatories are Friedrich Meinicke, Professor of History, Berlin; Hermann Oncken, Professor of History, Heidelberg; Herr von Reichenau, retired diplomat; Herr von Schwerin, Regierungs-president, of Frankfurt-am-Main, and Dietrich Schäfer, Professor of History, Berlin. A translation of the text appears below.

HE German people and their Emperor have preserved peace for forty-four years, preserved it until its further maintenance was incompatible with national honor and our continued existence. Despite her increase in strength and population, never has Germany thought of transgressing the narrow bounds of her possessions on the European Continent with a view to conquest. Upon the world's markets alone was she forced to make an entry, so as to insure her economic existence by peacefully competing with other nations.

To our enemies, however, even these narrow limits and a share of the world's trade necessary to our existence seemed too much, and they formed plans which aimed at the very annihilation of the German Empire. Then we Germans rose as one man, from the highest to the meanest, realizing that we must defend not only our external life but also our inner, spiritual, and moral life-in short, defend German and European civilization (Kultur) against barbarian hordes from the east and desire for vengeance and domination from the west. With God's help, hand in hand with our trusty ally, we have been able victoriously to assert ourselves against half a world of enemies.

Now, however, another foe has arisen, in Italy. It is no longer sufficient for us merely to defend ourselves. Sword in hand, our foes have compelled us to make enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure. Now we want to defend ourselves

with all our might against a repetition of such an attack from every side, against a whole succession of wars, and against the possibility of our enemies again becoming strong. Moreover, we are determined to establish ourselves so firmly on such a broad expanse of securely won homeland that our independent existence is guaranteed for generations to come.

As to these main objects the nation is unanimous in its determination. plain truth, for which there is the most absolute foundation, is this. Only one fear exists in all classes of our people, and especially is there a deep-seated fear prevailing among the most simple-minded sections that mistaken ideas of atonement (Versöhnungsillusionen) or even nervous impatience might lead to the conclusion of a premature and consequently patched-up peace, which could never be lasting; and that, as happened a hundred years ago, the pen of the diplomats might ruin what the sword has successfully conquered, and this perhaps in the most fateful hour of German history, when popular feeling has attained an intensity and unanimity which was never known in the past and which will not so easily recur in the future.

Let there be no mistake. We do not wish to dominate the world, but to have a standing in it fully corresponding to the greatness of our position as a civilized power and our economic and military strength. It may be that owing to the numerical superiority of our enemies

we cannot obtain everything we wish in order to insure our position as a nation; but the military results of this war, obtained by such great sacrifices, must be utilized to the very utmost possible extent. This, we repeat, is the firm determination of the German people.

To give clear expression to this fixed popular determination, and to convey such expression to the Government, to afford it strong support in its difficult task of enforcing Germany's necessary claims against a few faint-hearted individuals at home as well as bitter enemies abroad, is the duty and right of those whose education and position raise them to the level of intellectual leaders and protagonists of public opinion; and we make appeal to them to fulfill this duty.

Being well aware that a distinction must be drawn between the objects of the war and the final conditions of peace, that everything of necessity depends on the final success of our arms, and that it cannot be our business to discuss Austria-Hungary's and Turkey's military objects, we have drawn up the following brief statement of what, according to our conviction, constitutes for Germany the guarantees of a lasting peace and the goals to which the blood-stained roads of this war must lead.

1.—FRANCE.

After being threatened by France for centuries, and after hearing the cry of vengeance from 1815 till 1870 and from 1871 till 1915, we wish to have done with the French menace once for all. classes of our people are imbued with this desire. There must, however, be no misplaced attempts at expiation, (Versöhnungsbemühungen,) which have always been opposed by France with the utmost fanaticism; and as regards this we would utter a most urgent warning to Germans not to deceive themselves. Even after the terrible lesson of this unsuccessful war of vengeance France will still thirst for revenge, in so far as her strength permits. For the sake of our own existence we must ruthlessly weaken her both politically and economically, and must improve our military and strategical position with regard to her. For this purpose in our opinion it is necessary radically to improve our whole western front from Belfort to the coast. Part of the North French Channel coast we must acquire, if possible, in order to be strategically safer as regards England and to secure better access to the ocean.

Special measures must be taken to avoid the German Empire in any way suffering internally owing to this enlargement of its frontier and addition to its territory. In order not to have conditions such as those in Alsace-Lorraine the most important business undertakings and estates must be transferred from anti-German ownership to German hands, France taking over and compensating the former owners. Such portion of the population as is taken over by us must be allowed absolutely no influence in the empire.

Furthermore, it is necessary to impose a mercilessly high war indemnity (of which more hereafter) upon France, and probably on her rather than on any other of our enemies, however terrible the financial losses she may have already suffered owing to her own folly and British self-seeking. We must also not forget that she has comparatively large colonial possessions, and that, should circumstances arise, England could hold on to these with impunity if we do not help ourselves to them.

2.—BELGIUM.

On Belgium, on the acquisition of which so much of the best German blood has been shed, we must keep firm hold, from the political, military, and economic standpoints, despite any arguments which may be urged to the contrary. On no point are the masses more united, for without the slightest possible doubt they consider it a matter of honor to hold on to Belgium.

From the political and military standpoints it is obvious that, were this not done, Belgium would be neither more nor less than a basis from which England could attack and most dangerously menace Germany, in short, a shield behind which our foes would again assemble against us. Economically, Belgium means a prodigious increase of power to us.

In time also she may entail a considerable addition to our nation, if in course of time the Flemish element, which is so closely allied to us, becomes emancipated from the artificial grip of French culture and remembers its Teutonic affinities.

As to the problems which we shall have to solve once we possess Belgium, we would lay special stress on the inhabitants being allowed no political influence in the empire, and on the necessity for transferring from anti-German to German hands the leading business enterprises and properties in the districts to be ceded by France.

The manifesto speaks of the growing Russian peril, and says that the occupied part of Russia should become a rich agricultural country, where the surplus German population and the refugees who have found an asylum in Germany will be settled. It proceeds:

Russia is so rich in territory that she will be able to pay an indemnity in kind by giving lands, but lands without landlords. Peace with Russia, which would not diminish Russian power and increase German territory, would surely lead to a renewal of the war. Once the Russians are driven back beyond their new frontier we shall not forget the war which England has made on the maritime and colonial commerce of Germany. That must be the guide of our action. We must supplant the world trade of Great Britain. By her blockade of Germany, England has instructed us in the art of being a European power militarily and industrially independent of others. We must immediately seek to create for ourselves, apart from the empire of the seas, a Continental commercial enceinte as extensive as possible. Our friends Austria-Hungary and Turkey will open to us the Balkans and Asia Minor, and thus we shall assure ourselves of the Persian Gulf against the pretensions of Russia and Great Britain. We must also sign as speedily as possible commercial treaties with our close political friends. Then we shall devote our attention to recovering our overseas commerce. Our old

commercial and maritime treaties must be renewed, and everywhere we must obtain the same treatment as Great Britain. In Africa we must reconstitute our colonial empire. Central Africa is only a huge desert, which does not offer enough colonial wealth. We therefore require other productive lands, and herein is to be found the importance of our alliance with Islam and the utility of our maritime outlet. Those who want to exchange Belgium for our colonies forget that not only are colonies the foundation of all European power, but that colonies without an opening to the sea would always be the slaves of the good or ill will of England. We need liberty of the seas. which was the real cause of war between England and Germany. To obtain it we must have Egypt, the connecting link between British Africa and British Asia, Egypt which with Australia makes the Indian Ocean an English sea, which joins up all the British colonies with the mother country, which, as Bismarck said, is the neck of the British Empire. That is where England must be shaken. The Suez Canal route will then be free, and Turkey will regain her ancient right.

THE PRESS.

But England also invades the universal press; we must take this monopoly away. Our best arm against English permeation is the liberty which, as leaders of Europe, we shall bring to the whole world. With regard to war indemnities, we shall demand an indemnity which as much as possible shall cover war expenditure, the repair of damage, and pensions for disabled men, widows, and orphans. We know that the question has been examined by the Government according to the financial capacities of our enemies. From England, which has been so niggardly in men, we can never demand enough money, because England raised the world against us with gold. It is our duty to crush the insatiable cupidity of this nation. However, we shall probably have to apply for a war indemnity to France in the first place, if not exclusively. We ought not to hesitate to impose upon France as much as possible out of false sentimentalism. As mitigation she might be offered one of the sides of the Suez Canal, while we occupy the other. Should France refuse that, as well as the financial obligation that we should ask her, we should have to impose on her a policy which would satisfy us. We do not want a policy of culture without a policy of action. Germany must insure her political and commercial life before trying to propagate her spirit. Let us at first give a healthy body to our German soul.

The manifesto concludes with this saying of Bismarck:

Whenever, in any sphere of politics or elsewhere, one thinks one has touched an obstacle with one's finger, courage and victory no longer stand in the relation of cause to effect, but are identical.—Reuter.

How to Educate the Public

A Tragedy in One Act

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

Scene-The office of The Daily Depresser. Enter proprietor.

Prop.-Well, what news?

Editor—Rather good this morning; the British have taken a mile of trenches; and the French, in a most gallant counterattack, have repulsed two army corps, with enormous losses to the Germans.

Prop .- And the Dardanelles?

Ed.—There's no news at all today.

Prop .- And from Germany?

Ed.—Oh, the usual stuff.

Prop. (coldly)-Read it.

Ed.—The Crown Prince, in a conversation with a lady friend, is reported to have said if the Germans take Calais the capture of London will be easy.

Prop.—Most important. Put in largest letters, top of chief page: "Calais First, London Afterward." Go on.

Ed.—Count von Munchausen has told a journalist that there are two million fresh troops in Belgium waiting to attack the British lines.

Prop.—Head paragraph in big letters, "2,000,000 fresh Germans to attack British in Flanders."

Ed.—Good, and the Dardanelles?

Prop.—Large type, "No News From the Dardanelles," and you can go on, "The absence of news from the Dardanelles causes some reasonable anxiety," &c.

Ed.—And how about the reports from the Allies? There's French's victory—

Prop.—In smallest type, "Slight Advance of the British Troops."

Ed.—And the French great repulse?

Prop.—Same type, "The French Maintain Their Positions." You see, my dear fellow, the English public must know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Germany's Economic Joke on Europe

By the War Committee of German Industries

MONG Germany's enemies in the present war the English have without doubt assumed the intellectual leadership. They have developed the methods of business warfare always peculiar to them in a degree which would previously have been considered scarcely possible, in that they made it a point to break up completely Germany's economic organization and destroy the German capital invested abroad. In countless instances they have resorted to an annulment of the honestly acquired claims of Germans and to a breach of private rights and international law, and have placed the trade of the neutral nations in a condition of uncertainty and lawlessness the effects of which will be experienced long after the treaty of peace is concluded.

But the English have also succeeded in converting their allies to the same means of warfare. As shrewd teachers they have caused the French, Russians, and Italians to resort to methods which do not at all correspond to the past history of these people and do not conform to their natural dispositions.

The English have often enough publicly declared that for England the goal and methods of warfare are entirely commercial. Grey in the speech made in the House of Commons on Aug. 3, 1914, confessed himself to this view. He wished to make clear to his countrymen that England must take part in the approaching war because her heavy burdens would not be increased thereby. With this in view he said:

We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war, whether we are in it or whether we stand aside. Foreign trade is going to stop, not because the trade routes are closed, but because there is no trade at the other end. Continental nations engaged in war—all their populations, all their energies, all their wealth, engaged in a desperate struggle—they cannot carry on the trade with us that they are carrying on in times of peace, whether we are parties to the war or whether we are not.

Grey, therefore, at that time justified England's participation in the war by the prophecy that English business would not suffer more by such participation than it would if England maintained, at least outwardly, a passive attitude. Only the commercial harm to England was a factor in his eyes. He gave not a thought to the enormous sacrifice of human lives that a nation must bring in war. Meanwhile the cold, hard facts will have reminded him fearfully of these sacrifices so entirely overlooked and forgotten by him.

But also the commercial prophecies which Grey in incomprehensible short-sightedness permitted himself to make on Aug. 3, 1914, have in the sequence been proved to be completely false. No one has shown that better than Lloyd George in the speech he made before the House of Lords on May 4, 1915. His starting point was the fact that Germany and England, in times of peace, have an enormous export trade that invariably shows an excess of imports over exports at the end of the year. Comparing the economic conditions of the two nations in war, he said:

We have both got to maintain ourselves, feed our population, and feed our manufacturers, and that has got to be done either out of the produce of our own country or out of accumulated reserves of material or by means of imports from abroad. Germany cannot import abroad. So she has to depend entirely on what she can produce at home or on accumulated reserves. Let the committee (the House of Lords had constituted itself a Committee of the Whole) observe the difference between the two problems. From the point of view of a War Minister, Britain is better off. From the point of view of a Finance Minister, our difficulties are greater for the time being. In a protracted war the British War Minister has great and increasing advantages over his German rival; but the German Finance Minister has not the same difficulty in financing purchases from abroad. I am now putting the financial position which is in front of us. The margin of imports over exports in an ordinary year is £130,000,000. The margin of imports over exports this year will be £448,000,000 That does not include Government purchases abroad or the purchases of our allies abroad. We have got practically to finance the purchases of most of our allies abroad. That means that, instead of having to finance a difference of £130,-000,000, we have to finance a difference between £700,000,000 and £800,000,000. Lloyd George continued with the query as to how England might be of the most use to her allies. She could maintain control of the seas. This she has done. She might keep a large army in the field and assume the financial burdens for the Allies and see to it that their armies are kept supplied with munitions of war. these three duties England could fulfill the first and third completely. But the number of English soldiers sent to the front would necessarily be limited by the fulfillment of these duties. In regard to this matter Lloyd George said: "I say, speaking now purely from the point of view of finance, that the time has come when there should be discrimination, so that recruiting should not interfere with the output of munitions of war and that it should interfere as little as possible with the output of those commodities which we export and which enable us to purchase munitions for ourselves and for our allies."

The heavy burdens which Lloyd George thinks the German War Minister has to bear we may fittingly leave him to carry alone. It has appeared that not the Germans but the English lack a sufficient quantity of good ammunition. And the Cabinet of which Lloyd George is a member has finally stumbled over the question of high explosive grenades. More important is what Lloyd George says about economic conditions in a field in which he is an expert. According to him, not only have the burdens of the war attained undreamed-of proportions for England, but England can fulfill her military duties toward her allies only at a further expense of her economic organization. And now the moment is clearly approaching when England will resort to compulsory military service, that invention of the branded and passionately combated militarism. But thereafter, according to Lloyd George's incontestable and competent judgment, Great Britain will not be in a position to carry the economic burdens of the war as hitherto. She will have learned that this war, for the outbreak of which she is not entirely irresponsible, not only demands enormous sacrifices of human life on the battlefield, but, considered merely as a business transaction, it is very poor business.

Germany stands second among the nations in the magnitude of her foreign trade. If, now, a country with an export and import trade amounting to \$5,000,000,000 annually is suddenly cut off from the world market, the consequences will, of necessity, be keenly felt not only by the country in question, but also by all the countries standing in economic relations to it. This is in no small degree the case with the nations now at war with Germany, who assumed that Germany's economic dependence would force Germany comparatively quickly and easily to make peace.

What a rôle the trade with Germany played in the economic life of her present enemies the following table shows:

GERMANY AS PURCHASER.

	By Ger- many.	By Eng- land.	By France.	By Rus- sia.	By Bel- gium.
England	10.0		6.3	3.7	3.3
France	13,1	19.6		0.9	16.4
Russia	.30.9	21.6	5.6		3.7
Belgium .	.26.0	16.0	19.0	2.0	

GERMANY AS SELLER.

There was furnished By of the Ger- total im- ports of— %	By Eng- land.	By France.	By Rus- sia.	By Bel- gium.
England 9.9		6.1	5.5	3.2
France12.2	12.4		5.5	6.8
Russia40.8	12.9	5.0		0.6
Belgium15.0	10.0	13.0	3.8	• • •

These figures prove what an important part Germany played in the economic life of her present-day enemies, especially of Russia and Belgium.

England concluded from this that Germany was hereby made dependent upon the world market and that she could easily and quickly be brought to her knees through the economic pressure brought to bear. This hope has not materialized. On the other hand, it has appeared that the other now hostile nations were in great measure dependent upon the purchasing and export power of Germany.

The Neutrals In This War

By Count E. Reventlow

[From the Illustrierte Zeitung]

HERE has seldom been a war throughout the duration of which, from the very beginning and without interruption, politics and its instrument, diplomacy, have played so great and extensive a rôle as in this The well-known saying of world war. General von Clausewitz, that war is nothing but a continuation of politics with different means, has only showed itself partly true in this war, only so far as political and diplomatic relations with the States with which we are waging war have ceased. Elsewhere, politics is more strenuously active than ever, and, indeed, it is active with regard to our enemies also, in so far as the work of German arms, frequently in accordance with purely political aims, is applied now on the one side, now on the other, more or less vigorously, as a principal or subordinate operation, that is, in accordance with what politics shows to be advantageous. Naturally, these possibilities of war politics are only present when purely military possibilities allow it. For example, the Anglo-French Dardanelles adventure was in reality subordinated to the political aim of blasting the Orient and the Balkans away from Germany and Austria-Hungary, and then directing them against us. After the war many such military operations and undertakings will get their true names, their aim being less the overthrow of the principal enemy than the winning at least of a change of sentiment from neutral powers.

Neutral powers in a war cannot often be carded with the same comb, for the reason that their neutrality has quite a different meaning for themselves and for the belligerents. The neutrality of the United States means something essentially different, for example, from the neutrality of Holland or Denmark, and the neutrality of Sweden depends on quite other considerations than that of Rumania, in the past, or now, while these lines are being written.

Unique in the present war is the fact that all the great powers except the United States of America are taking part in the conflict as belligerents; here we do not count China a great power. The United States of America is the most powerful of all the neutrals, and is therefore of high significance for both belligerent parties. But even this situation ought not to be possible, for according to the conception of neutrality a power is neutral when it favors or injuries neither the one party nor the other. Normally a neutral power ought to show the same face and practice the same conduct, in a certain sense, toward both belligerent parties. This would have been extremely easy for the United States, because of the large independence of its commercial and geographical position. United States has not once needed to have its land and sea forces ready, or to keep them ready, as all the neutral powers in Europe have done for the last The United States is twelve months. commercially independent; it produces, or at any rate could produce, everything that it requires.

The war hits it only in its exports and its commerce with Europe. At the beginning of the war, ill-humor asserted itself in the United States, because it was foreseen that the war would disturb commerce in many ways. Then came the all-inundating import of the most infamous lies by our European foes into the United States. We could not parry them, because our means of communication were cut off by the war, as is well known. So things took their course, and chiefly for this reason a general feeling arose in the United States which swung wide from the spirit of neutrality, to the prejudice of Germany. Strong English sympathies and kinships, commercial relations, the possession of a common speech, ignorance of German life and aversion to it, did the rest. So matters stood, while the ever increasing supply of munitions of war from the United States to our enemies aroused indignation in Germany. From America came the dry answer: We would sell war materials to you Germans also, but you have not sufficient command of the sea to be able to take delivery of the goods. We cannot undertake to deliver them "free at your house." This view at Washington was unneutral, for it gave support to one party at the expense of the other, it delivered to our enemies direct the means of carrying on the war, because they were short of these. It would have been really neutral on the side of the United States to forbid the supply of munitions or by pressure to compel our adversary to let through to Germany exactly the same supplies that it received itself. Then during the past Winter the German submarine war against British commerce got under way, and when the English Lusitania was annihilated, America raised the well-known complaint which the German Government answered a week and a half ago. We hope that the answer of the United States will show more equity and more understanding than its previous expressions of view to this capital.

The United States has put up with all England's violations of sea rights and all maltreatment of neutral commerce, although these were quite unprecedented. On the other side, the United States has ignored the fact that the German Government, at the beginning of the war, expressly declared that it would be ready to ratify all hitherto unratified agreements concerning maritime rights, in order to secure the rights of neutrals and neutral commerce in this war. But when Germany, through just necessity to defend herself against England's starvation war, launched her Uboat war against English commerce, after giving loyal notice of the fact, the United States assumed an attitude of bitterness against us. As already said, it is to be hoped that the spirit of equity and impartiality will gain the upper hand in Washington. Germany knows that she is defending her rights, and from the beginning of the war has been sincerely ready to care for and safeguard the rights of neutrals.

From the beginning of the war the United States was in a position to unite with the maritime neutral States and to enter into an agreement with them to defend neutral shipping and neutral rights trampled under foot by England. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland would have been grateful to America for this, and together they would have formed a powerful group which even Great Britain would have had to respect. For Great Britain is commercially dependent on the United States. But nothing whatever came of this, because of America's leaning toward our enemies, so that the minor maritime States of Europe have had to put up with severe treatment at England's hands. The English Government said to them: We regret if you suffer, but it is better that you should suffer than that Great Britain should suffer.

While the United States further reaps great advantages from the war, and will have wrested from Great Britain her commercial and financial supremacy to a great degree after the war, while North America will stand free and unexhausted after the war, with a mightily swollen check-book, the maritime neutrals of Europe have seen leaner days than ever before. Add to this, that Great Britain presses more hardly on each of them, to induce it to surrender its neutrality. Holland and Denmark would be the most useful to the Britons, and therefore the firm stand of these States up to the present is the more worthy of recognition. Quite true that neither in Denmark nor in Holland is this attitude the result of a leaning toward Germany; there is no question of that. But these small States have self-respect, and they comprehend that to join Great Britain would mean in fact the loss forever of their independence. Less important is Norway, which has always been strongly under English influence. The situation in Sweden shows itself very different from that in these three powers. Here we find outspoken sympathy for Germany and outspoken aversion and fear of Russia. Russia's purpose, prepared far ahead by the building of railroads, to inundate Sweden at a favorable opportunity, to reduce her to a second Findland, and to win an Atlantic harbor on the west coast of Norway, has for a long time aroused growing anxiety in Sweden. The Swedish Government has, notwithstanding, preferred to remain conscientiously neutral, and we Germans esteem this decision, just as we recognize unreservedly the loyalty of Swedish neutrality. How here in these northern lands relations may be modified as the war progresses remains to be seen.

As soon as one of the belligerent parties has undoubtedly gained the upper hand, as soon as the other is irrevocably crushed, or when both belligerent parties have been brought to a certain degree of exhaustion, it will become impossible for many neutrals to maintain their present position, whether voluntarily or by constraint. In one extreme case the neutral seizes his arms in order to defend his independence; in the other, he joins the victor, under constraint, because the counterpoise on the other side is lacking, and resistance could only make his position worse. There is one neutral power in Europe which, in all human probability, cannot be threatened by such crises and dangers-Switzerland. Lying in the centre of the European Continent, without connection with the sea. in an almost unassailable position, always defensible, independent on all sides, Switzerland has always known how to incarnate the ideal of neutrality without detriment to herself. It is so also in this war. Yet Switzerland is suffering a great deal commercially because of the Anglo-Franco-Italian blockade of the coasts of Europe. Besides this, in the Swiss Confederation the sympathies and antipathies of the different nationalities toward the belligerent parties make themselves felt; but up to the present this is a phenomenon of minor importance, and we must take it for granted that hereafter, as heretofore, Switzerland will remain impartial in the full sense of the word, and will vigorously combat by force of arms every assault upon her neutrality by the belligerent parties. The neutrality of Switzerland is in every sense a thoroughly disinterested neutrality.

The very opposite of this disinterestedness is found in the Balkan peninsula. Here, almost since the beginning of the war, are visibly concentrated political questions of the highest moment. In the Balkan peninsula, the mutual and internal relations of the States, their complicated relations of race and nationality, their relations with the European great powers, and their efforts toward expansion, result in extraordinarily complicated relations. Within the frame of an essay we can only indicate these, and only from the point of view of the interests of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

In the Balkan peninsula we find two States openly hostile to us and our allies-Serbia and Montenegro. Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece are neutral. So long as Serbia is not crushed Rumania and Bulgaria form the land bridge, the general connection between Austria-Hungary and our third ally, Turkey. At the beginning of the war Rumania had been . for decades a secret member of the old Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Rumania has fulfilled her treaty obligation as little as has Italy; nay, she has not even maintained a benevolent neutrality. This was shown by the fact that, at the command of her neighbor Russia, the Rumanian Government prohibited exports to Austria-Hungary, and likewise forbade the transport of munitions and other war material from the Hungarian frontier through Rumania, and then through Bulgaria. In Rumania, thanks to the efforts of our adversaries, the feeling against Germany and Austria-Hungary has been so strong for years that the King and the Germanophile statesmen have been able to do nothing against it.

This was aided by Russia's mighty halo of unconquerable and irresistible power. No one dared to act counter to a Russian prohibition, because every one believed that Russia would issue from the conflict victorious. To this was added the old Rumanian ill-feeling against Hungary, and the effort to absorb that part of Hungary which is predominantly peopled by Rumanians. It is true that there were and are also thoughtful Rumanians who know that Russia's victory would in-

evitably reduce Rumania to the position of a vassal State of Russia, and that therefore a union with the two central empires is the desirable thing, for the reason that these desire a strong and independent Rumania. Up to the present hour Rumania has not decided, and it is impossible to foresee what her decision will be. I should probably be right in saying that here also the question of superior force, in the one or the other sense, with this or the other means, will bring the decision.

With Bulgaria things are somewhat different. This State had, at the beginning of the war, intimate relations particularly with Austria-Hungary, had been crushed in the second Balkan war by her united adversaries in the Balkans, had been deprived of a large territory and was full of bitterness toward Russia. After the war had begun, our enemies tried to bring Bulgaria once more close to themselves, making great promises to her at the expense of Turkey and at the expense of Greece, if Bulgaria would draw the sword and would fight on the side of our adversaries, and particularly if she attacked Turkey. But Bulgaria's efforts are rather directed toward regions which Serbia in part deprived her of, and in part has long been in possession of. But in Bulgaria also the halo of Russian and British might is still living and active.

There are Bulgarians who still hope that Austria-Hungary may be beaten, and then the great powers would divide Bulgaria's territory among the Balkan States. So here also we see how only uncertainty and partisanships have hitherto maintained neutrality. Neither Rumania's nor Bulgaria's neutrality is disinterested. They cannot be so, but up to the present, however, Bulgaria's neutrality has been more loyal than Rumania's.

In the breast of Greece also there are

two souls. The one is personified in the steadfast King Constantine, the other in the statesman Venizelos, so ready to serve the interests of France and England. The latter wished last Winter to push Greece into the war, particularly against Turkey. Islands and coast territory belonging to Turkey have been promised to Greece. On this pretext, France and Great Britain wished to send Greek troops against Constantinople and to Gallipoli as cannon fodder, and in return for this, promised to Greece things which had yet to be conquered. But the King intervened, Premier Venizelos was upset, and the neutrality of Greece was preserved. So the matter stands today, and so it will remain if the King remains in good health. This policy is without doubt the more far-seeing, since by it Greece risks nothing and makes sure of the active gratitude of the central empires after a victorious issue of the war.

From these brief indications it appears that the neutrality of the now neutral Balkan powers is in a condition of unstable equilibrium. On their decision very much depends for the progress of the war, while on the other hand it should be said that this very decision will be greatly influenced by the course of military events. There is a mutual interaction here which it is impossible to foresee. Our adversaries wish and demand that the three Balkan powers shall draw the swords for them. The German Empire demands only neutrality. The German Empire and its allies demand first of all a free connection between Hungary and Turkey. From this the rest will follow of itself.

Therefore the neutrals and their neutrality in this war are an important and complicated problem, because of their own efforts, feelings, and aversions, and because of the interests and efforts of the belligerents.

The Strange Child Heart of Germany

By J. George Frederick

New York, Aug. 7, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

AY I ask we pause for a few minutes to peer into the inner chambers of the German heart, so that we may perhaps have light on what seems incomprehensible?

Yesterday a German of the highest representative type—with whom for months I have debated the issues of the war—despondently refused my week-end invitation and said with tears in his eyes that his dearest friend in Germany had recently fallen in battle, and his father was losing his mind over the war. He produced a letter written in Germany maintaining with almost fanatical insistence that Germany was an instrument in the hands of God, a "child of the infinite" for the salvation of the world. Like a deep religion, he devoutly believed it with the trusting faith of a child.

For the first time since the start of the war there flashed upon me a vision of the inner chambers of the German heart, the true composition of that world marvel of temperament which has confused us with a contradictory mixture of value and inhuman menace. I saw that its ideas came from those to whose authority it was obedient. I saw that the German heart was essentially a child heart; was stormed in soul with the swift and vindictive passions of childhood; now bubbling with friendliness, now rent with hatred. I divined in this German child heart an utter innocence of understanding of aught save the passions that racked him; whose argument was invective, not logic, yet who, for all that, was yearning behind that bitter mask to be enfolded in the comforting arms of a friendly, forgiving world. High-strung and proud beyond words, he was like a child who, half in innocence, has committed an atrocity; unable to bring himself to see or admit it or ask pardon for it, but cruelly torn in heart that he is made to suffer punishment and isolation for deeds whose significance he does not realize.

The German heart, it seems to me, in one sense, is being subjected to an unnatural and unfair strain, as of a child being compelled to meet the stern standards and judgments devised for adultsand this time adults not its own parents and masters in Germany, but strange new adults of the whole world. Precocious, imperious, self-conscious, and self-centred as any child inevitably is, it is spiritually a crime that Germany in these, her own hours of spiritual childhood, scars her body so badly because her juvenile incorrigibility must at last force upon her the elder parental discipline of the world's adult stand-

But, oh, that there had been some magic of pedagogy which might have kept her from the last resource of the international ferrule! Oh, that there had been more parental wisdom for the bending of the young nation to a gentler humanity! Germany, I protest, is naught but a child in every aspect of her history and character.

I beg that the German actions and words be henceforth viewed in this light (at worst) of willful childhood; that her folklore, her naïveté, her delightful holiday customs, and domesticity be remembered as signs of her innately juvenile heart, and that we understand even that her militarism is at worst a crude boyish strutting in armor, without the deeply sinister adult responsibility which similar actions on the part of older nations might imply. It is the grave-but do not let us say the vengeful-duty of the adult civilized world to teach and hold the child to high standards. But may we also remember the greater responsibilities of adulthood, and not forget to love in the midst of our mutual pain.

J. GEORGE FREDERICK.

"J'Accuse!"—A German to Germans

By William Archer

This review by the famous English author and critic of a book written by an anonymous German appeared originally in The London Daily News. The book attacking Germany was published in April, 1915, in Lausanne, Switzerland. An issue of the Journal de Genève which reached the United States in August announces that the Swiss Commander in Chief, acting under martial law, has suppressed the book, seized all copies for sale on the railway news stands, and has forbidden its transmission through the Post Office. Another Swiss newspaper reports that a widespread protest has been made against this suppression on the ground that it is a political and not a military act, and that, therefore, the military branch of the Government has exceeded its authority. At all events an appeal has been taken to the Federal Council, the national body in which supreme executive power lies.

'ACCUSE!' von Einem Deutschen" (Lausanne: Payot et Cie.) is a book which will certainly take its place in history. It is the work not only of an able but of a brave man. That such a book should exist in the German language is a great reassurance for all who cling to the hope that good may yet spring from evil and that the war demon may be hurled once for all into the abyss by the very triumph of his own infernal machinery. To that end it is indispensable that the German people should as soon as possible learn the truth as to the way they have been hoodwinked into the fatal adventure; and here is a man who not only tells them the truth with vigor and conviction, but proves his case by an extremely able marshaling of evidence. Published in Switzerland, the book is no doubt contraband in Germany, and will continue so for many a day. But it is the sort of contraband which Custom Houses cannot keep out. As soon as the paroxysm of the war is over Germans will insist on knowing what this eloquent and courageous German has to say to them.

When I went to procure the book I had almost followed the line of least resistance and bought the French translation. But I bethought me that in such a case, where doubts as to the genuineness of the author's alleged nationality are always possible, it is best to go to the original document. So I chose the German edition, and I did wisely. Not only is there no possible doubt that the writer is a German, but he is, if a foreigner may judge, a master of his native tongue. He

writes clearly, vigorously, attractively. The clearness, by itself, might seem a suspicious circumstance; but it is evident that the author thinks in German and that his culture is that of the Fatherland. Therefore we may accept without hesitation the opening words of his "Epilogue":

A German has written this book. No Frenchman, no Russian, no Englishman.

A German who is unbribed and unbribable, not bought and not for sale. A German who loves his Fatherland as much as any man; but just because he loves it, he has written this book.

He might have added that he is no paradoxist, who is never happy unless he is in a minority of one, and no fanatic whose ruling principle is "My country, always in the wrong!" He is a man of the world, a man of sound, unparadoxical sense. His mind is robust rather than subtle, and he writes with a passionate sincerity.

The book falls into two main sections, headed respectively: "The Preliminaries of the Crime" and "The Crime." The propositions which the author sets forth to prove in the first part are:

That the war had long been planned and prepared by Germany and Austria, not only from the military but from the political point of view.

That it had long been determined to represent this aggressive war to the German people as a war of liberation, since it was known that only thus could the needful enthusiasm be aroused.

That the object of this war is the establishment of German hegemony on the Continent, and in due course the conquest of England's position as a world

power on the principle "Ote-toi de là que ie m'y mette."

The demonstration is largely founded on our old friend Bernhardi, whom the writer turns outside-in with great effect. This, indeed, is not difficult, since Bernhardi is a master in the art of giving himself and his country away. "Neither France, nor Russia, nor England," writes the General, "needs to attack us in order to enforce their interests." Yet here is Germany being driven to the sacrifice of millions of her sons (to say nothing of other people's sons) because she is assured, first that Russia, and then that England, had diabolically planned a murderous attack upon her!

As to the celebrated "place in the sun," our author enumerates the amazing triumphs of Germany's commerce and industry, shows how she has been rapidly out distancing all European rivals, how emigration has fallen to a very low figure while immigration is rising-and then asks what place in the sun she can possibly require that she does not already possess. He shows that it is not the commercial classes which make play with this catchword, but the Junker class, " for whom the economic prosperity of a country only exists in so far as it provides the means for military enterprises." "What we are really claiming," he concludes, "is not a place in the sun for ourselves, but a place in the shade for every one else."

With admirable fairness he reviews the political relations of Germany and England, and shows that England, far from having pursued an aggressive policy toward Germany, has made constant efforts to win her friendship, only stopping short of the sacrifice of her insular security and of her position as a power in the world. The neutrality convention proposed by Germany would have meant nothing less than the renunciation of England's rights as a free moral agent. The whole difficulty, as our author clearly explains, arose from the ill-starred ambition of the first military power in the world to be also the first naval power. "What would Germany and all Europe have said," he asks, "if England, being the first sea power, had suddenly set to work to make herself as strong as Germany by land as well?" A question which our English Junkers may well take to heart.

Germany is told that she is fighting for safety, freedom, the right to exist.

The word "freedom" is now constantly on the lips of people who formerly would have crossed themselves three times if they had heard the tabooed term in the mouths of others. We have all suddenly, and without exception, turned into freedom lovers-especially those who were of old enthusiasts for "divinely appointed subjection." We have become so devoted to freedom that we want to confer it not only on our own people, but on all the other peoples of the earth (see the Chancellor's manifesto to America) * * * Social Democrats, clericals, progressists, Poles, Danes, Alsatians-all the former enemies of the empire are now pressed by the Prussian Junker to his sympathetic heart, on condition, of course, that they keep the truce, which means, as is well known, that they think, write, and speak as the Junkers do.

The people who make Russia the archenemy of Germany are as far from the truth as those who reserve that distinction for England:

Where, then, is the truth? What do we really want? Against whom and for what are we fighting? These are questions which every one answers differently. We are plunged in a gigantic spiritual confusion, an ocean of lies and misrepresentations, which is, alas! of blood-red hue, and threatens to sweep away German happiness and German prosperity.

The confusion arises from the fact that there is a tacit conspiracy among those who know not to tell the truth, while they have forgotten to come to an understanding as to what they are to substitute for it. So each lies as the spirit moves him, and the lies hurtle against each other in space like the wireless messages of different stations not tuned to each other. Jonathan Swift was right when he said: "As universal a practice as lying is and as easy a one as it seems, it is astonishing that it has been brought to so little perfection, even by those who are most celebrated in that faculty."

This part of the book contains a good many blank spaces, showing where passages have been cut out by the censor-ship—the Swiss censorship, of course. It would be interesting to know just where the censor drew the line; for the author speaks with very considerable freedom, even of such exalted personages as the

Kaiser, the Crown Prince, and (more particularly) the Imperial Chancellor.

By far the longest section of "J'Accuse!" is that devoted to "The Crime." It consists of a very acute and searching analysis of the evidence contained in the diplomatic documents published by the belligerent nations, and a crushing exposure of the falsehoods, concealments, evasions, misrepresentations, hypocrisies, and insolences whereby Germany has sought to throw upon Russia and England the responsibility for the outbreak of war. He tears to shreds the German White Book and the muddle-headed fallacies of the Chancellor's speeches. He perhaps attributes to Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg too much conscious villainy. I rather read in him a man of very mediocre ability, to whom clearness of thought is unknown and who is probably the first dupe of his own sophistries. To Sir Edward Grey, on the other hand, our author does neither more nor less than justice when he says: "The English Secretary of State had, from the outbreak of the crisis, the whole direction of the work for peace, and did all that any human being could have done to avert the calamity." He quotes, and makes his own, the eulogy which Mr. Asquith pronounced on his colleague in the House of Commons on Aug. 6.

On the question of Belgium our author's position is that of every man who does not hold that the moral code of the supreme State is, and ought to be, that of the wild beast in the jungle. The book was finished in February, so that the writer does not know how thoroughly the atrocity accusations have been proved. He accepts the very doubtful story that the Louvain outrage arose from shots fired by civilians from the houses. All the more telling is his denunciation of the theory that such incidents justify unlimited and indiscriminating incendiarism and massacre.

He tells of a visit to a "kino"—a picture theatre—in Berlin in the early days of the war, where the program illustrated the German perversion of ideas on this subject:

Two war films were exhibited. The first showed the rising in Tyrol in 1809, under Andreas Hofer, the second a

series of franc-tireur scenes in 1870. In the first the whole people is in arms against the French invaders; Andreas Hofer himself, the leader and hero, is no General, but an innkeeper, and the rest are peasants, handicraftsmen, and laborers, with their women and children, all armed and taking part in the fight. The sympathies of the author are, of course, on the Tyrolese side. The French are shot down from every sort of ambush, from behind houses, rocks, and trees. In due time it all ends in the victory and liberation of the people. Then comes the franc-tireur drama of 1870, and all is changed. Now the French defenders of their country have become scoundrels and criminals. Even their features show their evil instincts. They, too, shoot from ambush like the Tyrolese of 1809; but what was there a fight for freedom is here treachery and outrage. The punishment is not long delayed. German reinforcements storm into the village, the houses go up in flames, and, amid the shrieks of women and children, a dozen men and boys are ranged against the churchyard wall and "subjected to martial law." The distinction is obvious. Against the French, a people in arms! Against the Germans, criminals worthy of death. The same confusion of ideas everywhere, from the summits of German intelligence down to the lowest "kino" playwright!

Though the author is not in possession of the full evidence as to the deeds of his countrymen, he quotes from a German newspaper a letter from an officer headed, "A Day of Honor for Our Regiment," describing with hellish gusto a massacre of French wounded, and rightly calls it "a bestial document."

It cannot be said that the author has entirely avoided the dangers that beset the eager dialectician. He now and then loses his sense of proportion and runs an argument into the ground. Though never disingenuous, he is now and then (I think) not quite fair. But the flaws in his work are as nothing to the merits. It is a tremendous demonstration of the insanity of the whole world convulsion, addressed primarily to Germany as the nation which has made an idol of war, but well deserving to be taken to heart by all nations, belligerent or neutral. It leads up to the ideal of "a Peace League of Free Peoples," and one feels on laying it down that, if only this convulsion were once past, such an ideal need not be so very distant.

Poland's Gift to Civilization

By Kazimir de Proszynski

New York, Aug. 12, 1915.
To the Editor of The New York Times:

POLAND, where is your sympathy?" That is the question everybody puts to my fellow-countrymen during these days.

I am not authorized to speak on behalf of my country—no one has such a right when the national representation does not exist—yet I am sure that every thinking Pole, be he rich or poor, Prince or peasant, German, Russian, or Austrian subject, has only one indignant cry: "Go away, all! Go away from our home, barbarians that you are!" If I am mistaken let any one protest, but I am convinced that this is the sentiment of all Poles who are not of foreign origin.

Personally, I am not inclined to hate any living individual for political reasons; hatred is a feeling strange to a Pole, in spite of all the wrongs he suffers. Rather, we esteem those qualities of our enemies which deserve esteem. But imagine, if you will, the invasion of your home, your sanctuary, on three sides by three quarreling brutes who use it as the place of their quarrel in order to save their own homes; who destroy the products of your labor and your civilization, use your children as a shield against the enemy, and, when compelled to withdraw, burn and wreck everything or else carry it away with them! And on top of this to rob you of your name and your good reputation by falsifying your history and spreading over Europe false statements about your character, past and present!

Listen, all "free" nations. For 150 years you entirely forgot the debt you owe to your elder brother, to your unique ancestor of collective liberties and personal freedom. Your children grow up without the slightest knowledge of the existence of a people who cleared up the way to your freedom; who first, after the fall of Roman civilization, realized that all thinking men are equal in the

sight of the nation; who through the centuries recognized the absolute freedom of speech, of conscience and religion. You forgot the nation that should be remembered by you as the unique example of peaceful evolution, the people that grew, progressed rapidly and reached individual rights not by revolutionary destruction, not through an outburst of the lowest instincts, but as the natural result of the free play of the human spirit. You forgot that this ancient civilization was continually defending you in your future civilization from the destruction and invasion of Eastern barbarians. Even lately, after Poland was conquered by three absolute rulers who were frightened at the ideas of popular liberty which were spreading from this country, the heirs of this spirit led the constitutional movements in every part of the world, personified by such individuals as General Kosciusko in America, General Mieroslawski in Germany, General Bem in Hungary, &c.

You have allowed yourselves to bury so deeply your gratitude that you are unconsciously helping in the movement to disgrace Poland's past and to obliterate the best efforts of Poland's present. In our sight this is an appalling thing to do; you are the destroyers of your own moral progress.

Shall I recall some of the fictions invented to excuse the conquest of Po-There was the story of Poles oppressing peasants, and yet the real facts are that in an epoch of general oppression the lower classes of Poland enjoyed for those times the highest possible liberties; frequently whole villages of peasants, for the slight proof of their intelligence and loyalty, were rewarded with the highest freedom, i. e., with citizenship or "nobility," as it is called in Poland, these inhabitants obtaining even higher political rights than those enjoyed by citizens in the United States. You have assumed without question that

Poland was the focus of anarchy, of massacres-" pogroms "-while in reality Poland's history is not stained with a single attempt on the ruler's life; Poland was the single country which admitted all immigrants-such as Jews, Hussites, Huguenots, Presbyterians-expelled from the rest of Europe, and tolerated their religions, and this, too, at a time of inquisition and general persecution. You condemn the noblest Polish institutions such as the "Veto" without knowing that the highest material and spiritual development of Poland began with the introduction of the "Veto" and led through 150 years to the Golden Age of Poland, (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries;) this highest expression of the personal control of the government of every citizen was never abused nor corrupted until the intervention of intruders, who succeeded in conquering Poland by force and destroying her freedom. The statement that the "Veto" was the cause of the downfall of Poland is similar to the position of a burglar who might point out the inferiority of the house since it lacked anti-burglar devices.

This is our answer to the question, "Poland, where is your sympathy?" In the light of our history can we make any other answer? To a person we believe that it is necessary to shake off the old despotism and to inaugurate a new era in our civilization. All the highest spirits of Poland, like Mickiewiez, Krasinki, and others, have firmly believed that the old Polish political ideals may be made to form the basis of future politics which will revive and spread over all the world from our once forgotten country.

Saving in War Time

[From The London Daily News.]

Millions of Britons who are eager to be making silver bullets for the destruction of Kaiserdom are doubtful how to begin.

They want to put by every penny possible, and hand it over to the Government in the form of war loan. But they are not certain where to start this great business of saving. "I am never extravagant," such a man or woman will say, "and I really don't see how it is possible for me to cut down expenses."

Here are some practical hints which will show that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred saving in order to buy five-shilling "silver bullets" at the Post Office is not only possible but easy. It is merely a matter of system. Finally it becomes one of habit. Some sources of saving may be roughly grouped under the following heads:

MEN.
"Drinks."
Tobacco.
Traveling.

WOMEN. Cookery. Coal and Lighting. Clothes. BOTH SEXES.
Amusements.
Week-ends.

Of course, the list could be indefinitely varied and extended. It cannot be too clearly understood that the cost of every "drink" saved and handed over to the nation helps to shorten the war. Less labor and more foodstuffs are consumed proportionately in the manufacture of alcoholic liquors than in any other trade. Again, under the head "Traveling" a surprisingly substantial sum can be saved by many men on bus and tram fares.

In regard to women's expenditures, one of the first rules to observe is "Learn to cook." Shillings a week can be saved in any middle-class and many working-class households by more economical cookery. Some broad principles to follow are:

Cut down the meat bill. Raise the vegetable bill.

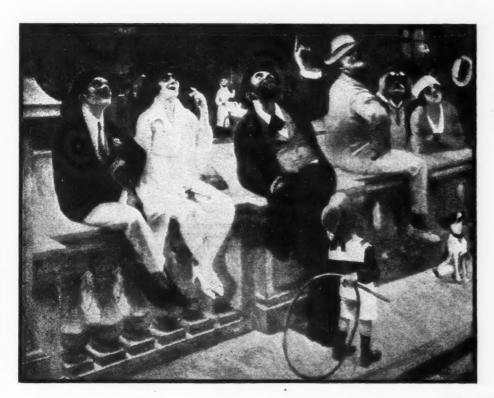
Save every bit of bread. Don't forget the soup.

Vegetables are cheap and good in spite of the war, and make excellent soup with or without the help of bones. If 30 per cent. more cooked vegetables (varied in kind and well cooked) and 30 per cent. less meat are served up, hardly any one will notice the difference—except the housekeeper when she makes up her accounts.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[French Cartoon]

The Hour of the Taube



-Drawn by Albert Guillaume, The Bystander, London.

How the French Show Their Contempt for the German Air Attacks: Awaiting the Coming of the Taube Aeroplane.

Easy Marks



-From The New York Evening Sun.

Austria Follows Germany's Example in Making a Target of the American Eagle.

Showing His Samples



-From Simplicissimus, Munich.

Wilson, the salesman, to the French Generals: "You understand, of course, that the more frightful the agony produced by my shells the higher the price of them."

German Satisfaction



-From a Dutch Post Card.

"Peace Reigns at Dinant!"

A Word to Sweden



-From Mucha, Warsaw.

APROPOS OF GERMANY'S THREAT TO INVADE FINLAND THROUGH SWEDEN. John Bull (to Sweden): "Don't get your toys in the way, little boy, so that I can't close this door."

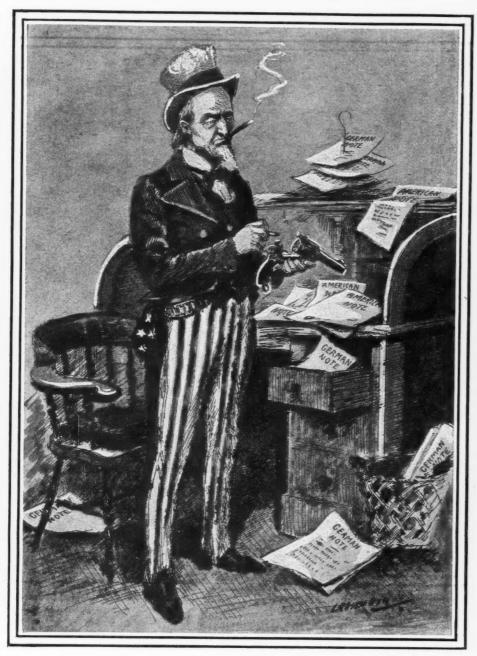
John Bull Weeps



-From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

In the hour of darkness and storm John Bull stands weeping over the buried hopes of the Entente Powers.

By Way of a Change



-From Punch, London.

Uncle Sam: "I guess I'm about through with letter-writing!"

John Bull's Tattoo



-From Jugend, Munich.

Fall in line, fall in line!

Each hour you serve a shilling!

For every corpse a dollar is paid!

Let every one help who's willing!

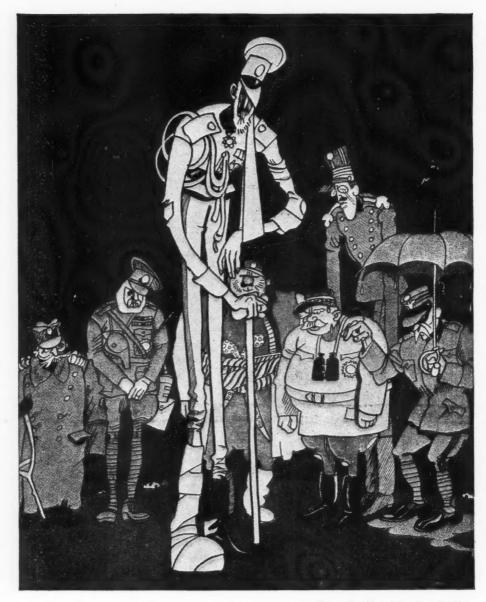
Another Scrap of Paper?



-From The New York World.

And the Hesperians Are Still Torpedoed!

The Exalted Overlord



-From Lustige Blactter, Berlin.

The Grand Duke Nicholas, as the chief victim, is dubbed by the Allied Powers "Generalissimissimus" ("Chiefest Commander in Chief.")

Cutting Another Cable



-From The New York Times.

"If you say the word, Wilhelm."

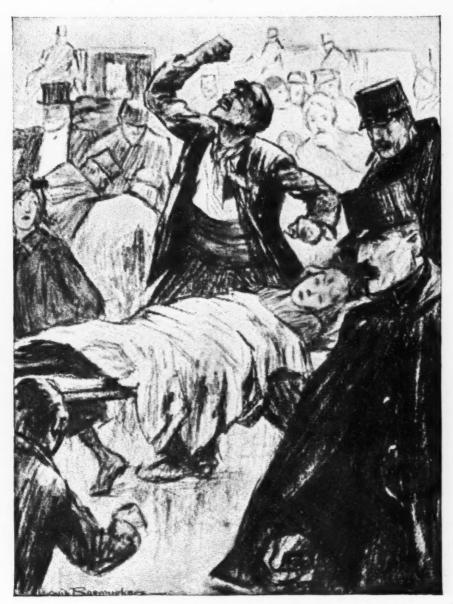
A German Breach of The Hague Convention



-From The Sketch, London.

Laughing-gassing the British Before an Advance in Close Formation.

"Hoch Kultur"



-From a Dutch Post Card.

Stricken from the Sky by a German Flier.

The Answer



-From Punch, London.

"When duty whispers low, 'Thou Must,'
They all reply, 'I Can.'"
—EMERSON (adapted).

After the War!



-From The Kansas City Post.

The German Nation's "Place in the Sun."

Malvolio Wilhelm



-From The Bystander, London.

"So crammed as he thinks with excellences, that it is his ground of faith that all that look on him, love him."

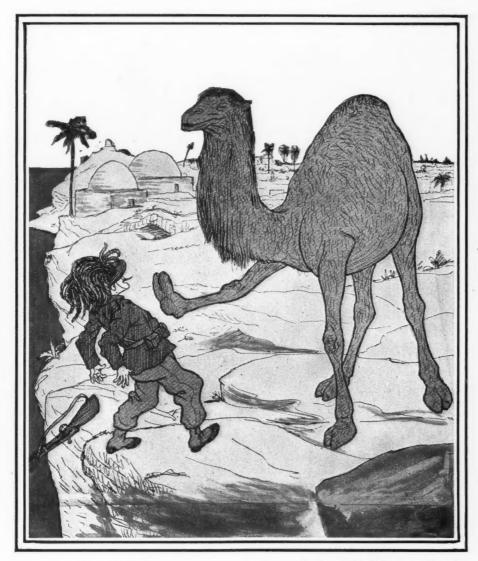
"O Peace! Contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of him: how he jets under his advanced plumes!"

"Very midsummer madness!"

"Acta 2.3 "Twelfth Night: or Wie Sie Wollen")

(Acts 2-3 "TWELFTH NIGHT; or WIE SIE WOLLEN.")

The Camel's Kick



-From Simplicissimus, Munich.

Tripoli (to Italy): "Adieu, Signor!" (Apropos of the reported condition of revolt in Italy's African colonies.)

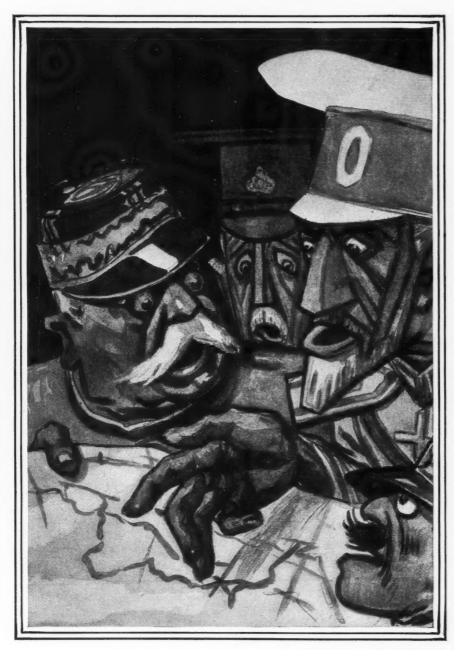
As It Really Happened



-From Hojas Selectos, Barcelona.

Emperor William and King George go courting Miss Italy; and the Englishman walks off with the prize.

An Excuse in Chorus



-From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

The Allies' Generals: "Yes, I could do it-if you would support me!"

A Little Difficulty



-From The Westminster Gazette, London.

Hindenburg: "I've crushed him!"
The Kaiser: "Then bring him in!"
Hindenburg: "I can't! He won't let me!"

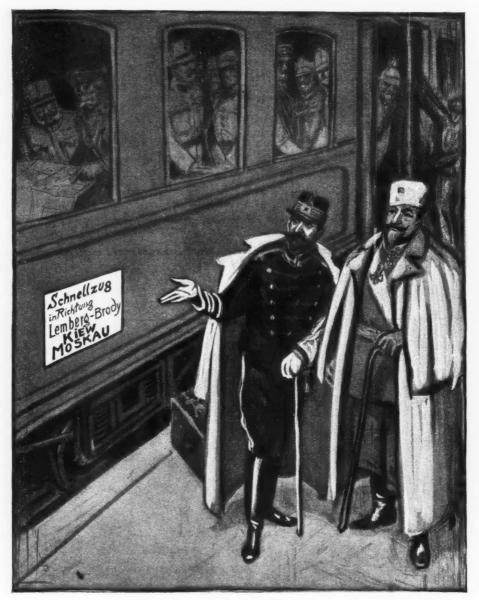
Ave Imperator!



-From The Bulletin, Sydney, Australia.

Disease: "Hail, master! I have slain my tens, but you have slain your thousands!"

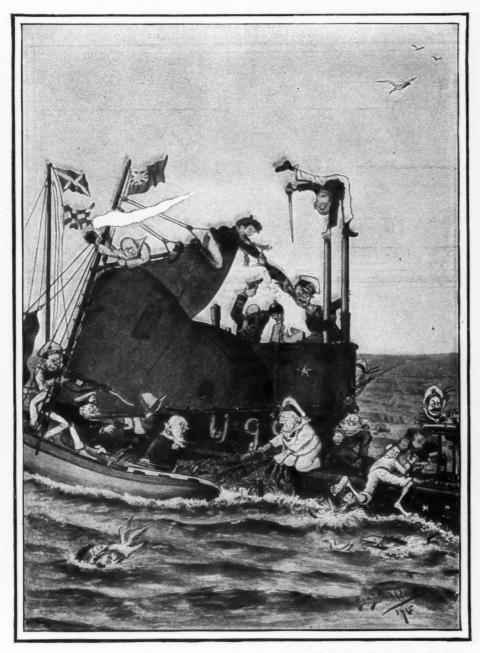
"Through Express!"



-From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

Rumanian (to Bulgarian): "I think we'd better board this train, or we'll miss connections."

Great German Naval Victory



-From The Bystander, London.

How the Commander of U-99 Won His Iron Cross. By Lieutenant E. G. O. Buettler, R. N. V. R.

Weather Report from the Isonzo



-From Jugend, Munich.

Cadorna telegraphs: "In spite of the severe rains and terrible thunder showers we hope soon to reach dry land."

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From August 12, 1915, Up to and Including September 12, 1915.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Aug. 13—Germans advance toward Brest-Litovsk.
- Aug. 15—Germans are approaching Kovno; Germans defeat Russians near Kubisko; Austrians advance along the Bug River; Austrians resume bombardment of Belgrade.
- Aug. 17—Germans capture southwest front of Kovno, with 4,500 men and 240 guns.
- Aug. 18—Germans take Kovno and 400 cannon; Vilna is being evacuated; two more forts of Novo Georgievsk fall; Mackensen's forces cross the Bug for the attack on Brest-Litovsk.
- Aug. 19—Germans take two more Novo Georgievsk forts; Austro-German forces penetrate the outer defenses of Brest-Litovsk.
- Aug. 20—Germans capture Novo Georgievsk, with 700 cannon and a huge store of supplies
- Aug. 23-Germans capture Ossowetz.
- Aug. 26—Austro-Germans take Brest-Litovsk, the Russians evacuating it; Germans take Bialystok, also evacuated by the Rus-
- Aug. 28—Austrians take offensive in Southeastern Galicia and pierce the Russian line at two points.
- Aug. 30—Mackensen starts a turning movement in the far south, while Hindenburg pushes for Riga.
- Aug. 31—Russians check Teutonic allies in Galicia.
- Sept. 1—Austrians capture the Russian fortress of Lutsk; official German statement puts Russian losses since May 2 at 300,000 killed and wounded and 1,100,000 prisoners.
- Sept. 2—Russians evacuate the fortress of Grodno and retire to the right bank of the Niemen River.
- Sept. 8—Russian Grand Duke Nicholas shifted to the Caucasus; Russians recapture old positions in Galicia near Tarnopol.
- Sept. 9—Russians win another victory southwest of Trembowla; Austrians take Dubno.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

- Aug. 13—French take new offensive in Arras region.
- Aug. 16—French win artillery fight near Soissons.
- Aug. 18—Violent artillery duels are in progress along almost the whole front.

- Aug. 22—Severe artillery fighting in the Arras region.
- Aug. 26—Germans are again shelling Rheims. Aug. 28—French artillery silences German
- guns at four points in the Argonne. Sept. 8—Germans begin new offensive on
- western approaches to Verdun. Sept. 9—German Crown Prince's army gains
- in Argonne district.

 Sept. 10—Germans win trench at Schratzmennele with asphyxiating shells.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

- Aug. 18—Italians take many Austrian trenches in the Tolmino and Carso regions with the bayonet.
- Aug. 22-Italians gain ground on the Carso front.
- Aug. 23—Italians evacuate the heights of Monfalcone; Austrians repulse Italians east of Polazzo.
- Aug. 28—Italians are developing great movements against Trent and Trieste.
- Sept. 3—Italians repulsed at Tolmino. Sept. 7—Italians repulse Monte Nero at-
- Sept. 10—Italians are again repulsed at Tolmino.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

- Aug. 15—Russians advance in the Caucasus. Aug. 16—Turks recapture the town of Van on the Caucasian front from the Russians.
- on the Caucasian front from the Russians.

 Aug. 17—Russians again take Van and make other gains.
- Aug. 25—Allies advance on the Gallipoli Peninsula along a twelve-mile front.
- Aug. 31—German reports state that the British have lost 50,000 men at the Dardanelles since Aug. 6.
- Sept. 1—Allies now command the Buvuk-Anafarta Valley on the Gallipoli Peninsula.
- Sept. 11—Russians repulse Turks on several positions on Caucasus front.
- Sept. 12-Turks are defeated near Olti.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL.

- Aug. 17—Austrian fleet of twenty-one vessels bombards the island of Pelagosa, in the Adriatic; four Italian soldiers killed.
- Aug. 21—Russian fleet defeats a German fleet which enters the Gulf of Riga.
- Aug. 22—Two French torpedo boats sink a German torpedo boat destroyer off Ostend.

Aug. 23—British fleet of thirty ships shells Zeebrugge.

Aug. 25—German cruisers bombard signal stations near Riga.

Sept. 7—British squadron bombards German batteries on the Belgian coast.

Sept. 11—Italian, British, and French warships attack points close to Smyrna.

NAVAL RECORD—SUBMARINES.

Aug. 13—German submarine torpedoes and sinks British transport Royal Edward in the Aegean Sea, 1,000 men being lost.

Aug. 19—German submarine torpedoes and sinks, without warning, the White Star liner Arabic southeast of Fastnet; among the fifty-four persons lost are two American passengers.

Aug. 21—British Admiralty states that the submarine F-13 went aground on the Danish island of Saltholm and was attacked by a German torpedo boat, which killed fourteen of the crew.

Sept. 2—British submarines torpedo four Turkish transports in the Dardanelles.

Sept. 3—Authoritative Paris reports state that the Germans have lost fifty-four submarines; German submarines sink British steamers Roumanie and Churston.

Sept. 4—German submarine torpedoes without warning the westbound Allan liner Hesperian off the Irish coast; ten passengers and sixteen members of crew, one of whom was an American, dead or missing.

Sept. 7—Germans report loss of submarine U-27; German submarines sink French steamship Bordeau, British steamship Dictator, and Norwegian bark Storesand.

AERIAL RECORD.

Aug. 17—Zeppelins raid the outskirts of London; ten persons are killed and thirty-six wounded.

Aug. 25 — Austrian aeroplane bombards Brescia, killing six civilians; sixty-two French aviators bombard Dillingen, in Rhenish Prussia; sixty French, British, and Belgian aeroplanes bombard the Mont Huest Forest in Belgium.

Aug. 26—British Aerial Squadron Commander Bigsworth, single-handed, sinks a German submarine off the Belgian coast by dropping a bomb upon it, according to British announcement; Germans deny the submarine is sunk.

Aug. 28—French aviators repel six German aeroplanes which attempt to bombard Paris, destroying one of the machines; allied aeroplanes shell German positions in Belgian towns near the coast.

Sept. 6—Forty French aeroplanes bombard Saarbrücken.

Sept. 7—German airships raid eastern coast of England; ten persons are killed and forty-three wounded; French aviators attack Freiburg. Sept. 8—Zeppelins again raid eastern coast of England and London district; twenty persons are killed and eighty-six injured.

Sept. 12—Zeppelins raid eastern coast of England; no casualities or damages.

GERMANY.

Aug. 15—German Embassy at Washington makes public a memorandum charging that British merchantmen in sixty-two instances have improperly flown American and other neutral flags.

GREAT BRITAIN.

- Aug. 15—National registration day throughout the United Kingdom, every person between 15 and 65 having to fill out blanks giving personal facts to enable Government to gauge labor resources and the number of men available for military service.
- Aug. 21—Great Britain issues a declaration, in which France joins, making cotton absolute contraband.
- Sept. 7—Government is ready to release American-owned cargoes of German and Austrian goods.

HOLLAND.

Sept. 8—Sentries fire at Zeppelin flying over Dutch territory.

ITALY.

Aug. 17—Italy demands that Turkey immediately release reservists and other Italian subjects at Turkish ports.

Aug. 21-Italy declares war on Turkey.

RUSSIA.

Sept. 7—Czar Nicholas takes command of the army.

UNITED STATES.

- Aug. 15—Text is made public of a note from the United States to Austria, in reply to an Austrian note of June 29, stating that the United States will not stop the shipment of munitions to Europe.
- Aug. 16—United States sends note to Germany accepting plan for fixing damages for the William P. Frye and asking about future conduct toward American ships.
- Sept. 1—Germany gives a written promise to the United States, in a letter from Ambassador von Bernstorff to Secretary Lansing, that she will sink no more liners without warning.
- Sept. 9—United States sends note to Austria-Hungary asking that Ambassador Dumba be recalled for attempt to cripple Amercan industries; Germany sends note to the United States defending sinking of the Arabic and suggesting arbitration of indemnity.